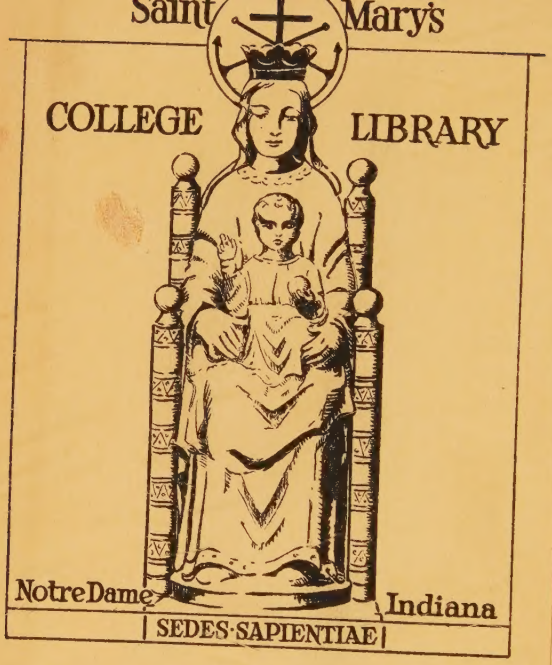
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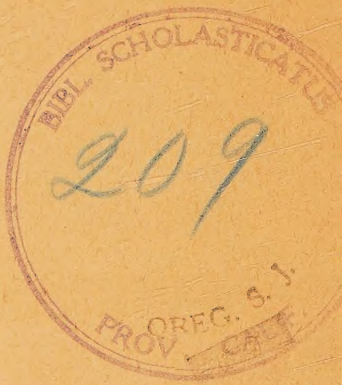
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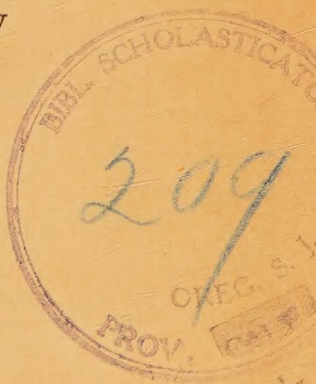

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CONTENTS

THE RELIGION OF "PRIMITIVE" RACES
By Mgr. A. Le Roy

THE RELIGIONS OF JAPAN
By A. Dahlmann

THEOSOPHY
By L. de Grandmaison

SPIRITUALISM
By Mgr. R. H. Benson

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE
By H. Thurston

THE CULTS AND CHRISTIANITY; CONCLUSION
By C. C. Martindale

INDEX

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31301

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THE
RELIGIONS OF PRIMITIVE RACES

[*From the French of*
MGR. A. LE ROY
Bishop of Alinda

THE first difficulty in speaking of "uncivilized races" is to find a name to suit them. They are not "savages" in the sense of living a lawless, nomadic life, outside all the conventions and usages of domestic or social intercourse. Such "savages" do not exist, and perhaps never have existed. Can they be called "uncivilized"? If they are uncultivated as we understand the word, at any rate they are civilized to an extent which suits their nature and conditions; and they develop and enjoy life quite enough to make them prefer their own civilization to ours, after trying both. There may exist certain uncivilized individuals (even elsewhere than in Central Africa), but there are no groups of totally uncivilized human beings. Must we then call them "Primitives"? If by this word we mean to describe what we think to be the most elementary condition, the most undeveloped state, and the nearest to prehistoric humanity, it is perhaps the best expression we can find. But, in using it, we do not in the least intend to identify the state of such uncultivated races as exist at the present time with that of the earliest men, much less of the first man, for we know nothing of the actual conditions of the latter. Neither is it possible to explain clearly why "Primitives" are primitive. Is it because their evolution towards a

higher state of civilization has been checked? Is it because they have degenerated, and sunk lower in the social scale? History shows us many cases of retrogression. And in carefully examining the customs of new races, we often find them to be much more elaborate than could be expected. After all, do not the really savage peoples date back as far as the most civilized? Still, on the other hand, immense spaces, such as the African continent, have been explored without finding a trace of any previous civilization;[1] in the earliest histories we see the Blacks very much resembling what they are in our own time, and Ctesias (fifth century B.C.) describes the African Pygmies exactly as they are at the present day. Now, in the very earliest discoveries, weapons, arms, jewellery, tombs, and even the shape of the skeletons, all recall certain races still existing, and whom we can see with our own eyes in the forests of Africa, Australia, and the Polar regions. From this we may conclude that the Primitives of prehistoric days, at any rate in Europe, were very like the first men we hear of in history, and the latter very like the savage of to-day. And this is why, under the reserves formulated above, we think the name Primitive, at any rate until a better one can be found, is a very fair description of races inferior in point of civilization.

Having found a name for the Primitives, we should like to describe their religion. But how can we sum up under one denomination the more or less religious conceptions of so many different races who have nothing in common but their relatively inferior civilization? It is often claimed that the basis of all religions must be a root idea, such as totemism, naturalism, animism, the social instinct, or the creative power of psychology. But I do not intend working on *a priori* lines. First of all, we do not

[1] The majestic ruins of Zimbabwé, near the Zambesi, were most probably once the centre of a foreign colony.

know what name to give to the religion of the Primitives, nor if one can be assigned. I belong to no particular school, and I do not propose starting from material evolution, or even from revelation. I simply wish to put things as they are, and, in order to be quite clear, I have chosen first of all from among the human groups which are usually considered the least civilized, the race of Bantus. The Bantus are more compact, more homogeneous, and of late years have become more accessible and better known to me than any others. After describing their beliefs, code, and cult as twenty years' missionary work on the east and west of Africa have shown them to me, I shall rapidly compare the results with the data furnished by "Primitives" elsewhere than in Africa; I shall touch on races lower still—the Negrillos, Negritos, and the Sân, and upon prehistoric man himself.

I

The Bantus

It is customary to use the generic name Bantus or "men" (from *Ba*, personal plural prefix, and *Ntu*, human being) when alluding to the large population which occupies the greater part of inhabited Africa on both sides of the Equator, from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, and from the basin of the Chad to the Orange River. Regarded from a purely physical point of view, the Bantus vary a great deal in type, no doubt owing to early mixing of tribes, but the general characteristics of the whole race appear fairly regularly.[1] They consist of numerous tribes, each with its own language,[2] each dwelling in a locality with its own customs, mode of government, and its own conditions of life, varying usually according to the country, and including small farming, cattle-

[1] Deniker, *Races et Peuples de la Terre*, Paris, 1900.

[2] The word *Ba-ntu* (men) belongs to one of these dialects; and in others we get *Aba-ntu*, *Wa-tu*, etc.

breeding, hunting, etc. This important group has come in contact with Islamism only on its Eastern limit, and here and there on the caravan routes which run from Zanzibar to the interior. Christianity, which first appeared in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries on the coast of Angola and Mozambique, was found to have left but few traces when Christian mission work was lately resumed there.

(i)

Belief in Spirits

There was a time when, on the evidence of travellers ill or inadequately informed, we were told that certain of these tribes had no religion but "the grossest fetish-worship," and knew nothing of God; but those days are past. On the contrary, if there is one thing more certain than another at the present time, it is the fact that the Bantus believe in a world beyond the material visible universe we inhabit: an immaterial, intangible, invisible world all around and about us, which mingles mysteriously with our earthly lives, and whither by the inevitable bridge of Death we shall all some day pass. "There are many more things above us," whispered an old African chief one day to me, pointing to the sky, "than there are in all the books of the white people." Yet he had not read *Hamlet*!

The other world exists just as truly as this earth. Is it possible, profitable, or necessary for man to be in communication with it? Our Primitives say yes, and in that affirmation their religion consists. They bring their religion into everything: important domestic events, daily incidents and accidents, everything which concerns the individual, the village, or the tribe: into their festivals, journeys, sports, agriculture, wars, and every private and public calamity. But they also confuse it to such an extent with law, medicine, science, legendary lore, poetry,

and magic, that we may find it difficult to say, in a given case, what is religious and what is not. And this is why there is so much confusion even in the accounts we get from missionaries and *savants* who write on the religion of the Black Races, and of the Primitives in general. This also explains why there is no Bantu word for "religion," considered as a whole. Each ceremony has its own name, but there is none for religion, nor is there any collective designation for all those beliefs and practices which constitute it, except the word *customs*. These customs have been handed down from generation to generation and always observed. To relinquish them would mean the decay of all family life, and the extinction of villages and tribes.

The Primitives class the multiple phenomena of nature under distinct categories, and each of these has its place, its differentiated qualities, and its mode of being. Inanimate objects are supposed to possess hidden virtues, properties, and secrets which may be utilized or neutralized. The great thing is to *know* them; he who *knows* is called a *mganga*, a word which stands equally for diviner, enchanter, seer, doctor, or magician.

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas!

In my opinion this is a fundamental notion which originates a number of remedies, preservatives, recipes, amulets, talismans, and those divers practices which are on the border-line of superstition and religion, though it would perhaps be wiser to look upon them as a kind of attempt at scientific knowledge, which, however puerile and rudimentary, is sometimes efficacious.

If inanimate objects have hidden "virtues," these virtues die with them. It is not so with living beings; certain animals, for instance, and particularly men, have been noted for intelligence, courage, wisdom, and fitness to rule. When their bodies decay, their

secret "virtues" and strength, or, to put it more intelligibly, their souls, survive them disincarnate in that invisible world which coexists with ours, whence they mingle in our existence and manifest themselves in thousands of ways. Piety, self-interest, and fear alike suggest our following these *manês* (to give them their real name) into that mysterious region, and showing them those marks of respect which we owe them, and which they often insist upon as their due. Hence the ceremonies which invariably accompany death-beds, death, funerals, and mourning. But, however these practices may differ, they all have the same general intention: to ensure peace for the departing soul, to fulfil the duties of the traditional ritual which procures a place of pleasant sojourn for the dead; if necessary, to avenge them; to prevent the ghost from returning to disturb the surviving relations (either by appeasing it with offerings, libations, and sacrifices, or by violently exorcising it by conjurations, shrieks, or even insults);[1] and finally, to purify the mourners from any stain or maleficent influence that may have come near them on the occasion of the ceremonies. From all these practices stands out the evident and undisputed belief of the Primitives in the survival of man.[2] These *manês* may be very useful to man, or may bring him a great deal of trouble, and accordingly one of the first precautions is to settle them, by appropriate ceremonies, in a place of abode which shall replace the body they have left. In Western Africa this abode is usually the skull of the defunct, painted red (red stands for life and blood, white for dust and death), and carefully preserved either in the family hut, or in a sort of niche arranged in the "parish house" of the village. Some tribes

[1] *Cf.* Lect. xiii. 13, etc.

[2] The disincarnate soul is called (especially in the dialects of Eastern Africa) *mu-zi-mu*, *m-zimu*, *n-simu*, *umud-zimu*, *mo-dimo*, *mo-limo*, etc. (from the root *ima*, living being), and may be translated *manês* or *shades*.

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keep these skulls in real little mortuary shrines or chapels, made of earth, bark, or wood. Other tribes locate the spirit in statuettes which have no pretensions to representing the defunct beyond the distinction of sex. In these statuettes are placed fragments of the body—nail-parings, ends of hair, etc., on the principle of attracting the soul, as bees are coaxed into a new hive by smearing it with a little of their own honey. As we go further east, we see just outside villages or at cross-roads tiny mounds which are the habitations of the *mi-zimu*, to whom stalks of maize, palm-tree wine, and other gifts are offered. In other parts the *manês* are supposed to remain in tombs, cemeteries, certain thickets, caverns, etc. But, in spite of all, the disembodied soul finds it hard to get accustomed to this form of existence. It regrets its earthly body, and especially the pleasures it owed thereto, and longs to return. And it does return. It comes back and inhabits the body of some pet animal or favourite child, and there re-lives its former life by some ill-defined species of metempsychosis. The Latins believed in and honoured the *manês*, from whom they expected benefits; but they also believed in *larvae* and *lemures*, spectres, phantoms, or ghosts, whom they feared as being capable only of harm. The same applies to the Black Races. Their idea is that these "shades" are the souls of the wicked, of malevolent sorcerers, condemned criminals, and inveterate enemies of bygone days. Adepts in black magic can bind these spirits to take divers forms, and to do the will of their masters, working evil far and wide. But such things are only breathed in secret, and under the veil of mystery. The question now arises: Is this theory of the survival of souls quite vague, and does it imply either reward or punishment? The survival of the dead seems absolutely indisputable to our Primitives, and yet their ideas of immortality and reward are equally indefinite. Of course it is felt that the shades of chiefs, warriors,

great men, and "seers" do not lose their activity in the next world, also that criminals do not fare as innocent men; we even perceive here and there traces of retribution, and the Fans of Gabun actually mention *Ototolan*, or the Hell of Fire. But in reality no one pays much attention to such things; the mind of a savage cannot grapple with vague speculation; it follows souls into the invisible world only so far as their good or bad actions affect him in this life: all the children of the great tropical forests re-echo the chant of their Bantu brothers when they sing, with a touch of anguish and impotent irony: "The world is like the moon; who has ever seen its other side?"

There are, however, among the disembodied souls who retain their passions and energies in a rarefied form, some who gradually disengage themselves from everything linking them to humanity, and who dematerialize themselves into pure "spirits." All the spirits who inhabit the invisible world are not *manês* or shades. There is a different and, as it would seem by the power attributed to it, a superior category. The very name given by the Black Races to these mysterious beings proves that this belief exists: if the *manês* are *mi-zimu*, these spirits are *pepo*, a word which, with another prefix, means "the breath of the wind." Some among these spirits are tutelary, such as the *Ombwiri* of Gabun; quantities of others are tricksy sprites, capricious and often malevolent. These are the kind who "possess" men, and have to be exorcised with appropriate ceremonies, usually consisting of the sacrifice of a victim designated by the possessed person in special determined circumstances, for each of these spirits has a name and certain dues, such as its particular magician, its ritual, its own ceremonies and sacrifices. When such spirits have been reduced to subjection by sorcerers, with costly and complicated rites, they can infuse special virtues into images, masks, and statuettes which bear their name. There are good and bad

images, and it is this cult which, inverted, and largely connected with magic, constitutes, in the Congo and over a large part of Western Africa, fetish-worship properly so called. And as this fetish-worship is more easily observed than anything else, inexperienced travellers have too hastily jumped to the conclusion that it constitutes the whole of the "religion" of the Black Races. To my mind it is also erroneous to call these shades and spirits "gods," and to class them with the Latin *dii*, solely in order to arrange them in a preconstructed theological pigeon-hole labelled beforehand *Polytheism*. In reality these names do not convey the Bantus' idea, for they can clearly distinguish three kinds of beings: *Mu-lungu* (a word having no plural), who is unique, inaccessible, Father and Master; *Pepo* (*spirits*, which are innumerable and have no connection with *Mu-lungu*, but are in communication with mankind, and can be controlled by men, especially for evil purposes); and *Mi-zimu* (*shades* or disembodied souls who are connected, by origin, with our common humanity). But this Mu-lungu, or God, is chief neither of spirits nor shades, but is outside them and on quite another plane. Neither spirits nor shades have any chief. Each one acts independently; any idea of religious hierarchy, such as in the Greek or Latin theogony, being quite unknown to the Black Races.

(ii)

God

Do the Bantus then apprehend the existence of God? Certainly. The best proof of this assertion is that in all their languages God has a name, and this name always expresses or represents Him as nearly as it is possible for mankind to express or reproduce the idea. Sometimes it is derived from the word *Ambu*, to say, do, arrange, etc., which implies *He who does*, the *Organizer*, the *Creator*; elsewhere, from

the root-word *eza*, and He is "the Powerful, the Master, the Great One." In other places, the word *mia*, to live, gives us "the Living One." Other tribes use words connected with His supposed place of abode, or with external similitudes, and this produces: "He of the Light, the Heavenly One, He of the Sun," etc. Can we then say that these savages are monotheists, such as Jews, Mussulmans, or Christians? I do not claim to prove anything so definite. Although they believe in a Being superior to everything, not to be really identified with sky, sun, or rain, nor identical with the shade of an ancestor nor with any other spirit, a Being with significant and characteristic names which cannot be better translated than by the word "God," and although this idea exists wherever the Black Races are found, still it is not equally well defined and vivid to the perception of all. They never ask themselves: who or where this great Being is, or what He may require of us. It is a kind of diffused idea, and although their conception is at times astonishingly definite on some points, yet in the ordinary course of life the notion seems to be allowed to drift altogether. In fact, if we come to compare the extraordinary precision of the Bantu vocabularies with their actual ideas, we feel that the notion of a Deity has distinctly retrograded, and was much clearer when first the language was formed. Other facts of high importance help to bring out the idea which the Black Races have conceived of God. First of all, nowhere in all the Bantu world is it believed that God can be influenced, conjured, or localized by force of sorcery, magic ceremonies belonging exclusively to *manês*, spirits, or genii. In other words, sorcery gets no grip upon God. Again, God is nowhere portrayed under any kind of natural shape, nor supposed to dwell in cave or temple; God has no fetish. The very idea of setting up any material object as God would be thought extravagant and ridiculous; so

that idolatry, in the sense of the adoration of any image as to representing, containing, or being God, is unknown to the Black Races. What we do find amongst them is the worship of images or fetishes which spirits or genii are supposed to inhabit, into which they have been summoned, where they dwell to exercise their influenee. Owing to our Latin education we call these "gods," but the expression is misleading, and the Black Races never fall into a like confusion of ideas. Finally, God is never, strictly speaking, blasphemed, any more than He is adored in the sense in which we understand the word. Man holds his peace, and waits in silence on His pleasure.

Such is the sum of religious belief among the Bantus of Africa, the foundation of their code and their cult. These beliefs refer to nature in her visible manifestations, and also to invisible nature. In the former dwell the immanent forces, or, as we say, the "virtues" of things, and these are dominated by the hidden presence of the all-powerful, mysterious Master. The invisible world, which the eye of the seer is supposed to penetrate, is divided into three separate planes. First, the *manês* of the ancestors, who are all about us; then the spirits, genii, or demons, who also come into contact with our lives for good or evil (principally the latter), and over whom we fortunately still have some control; and thirdly, the last sphere of all, where God presides over the whole universe, far off, inaccessible and untouched by all human will to help or hinder.

(iii)

Worship and Cult

On these vague beliefs repose the essential elements of true religion, and I have myself verified this astonishing and impressive fact.

Primitive Man, born without at all understanding how, or whence, or why he came hither, feels

almost a stranger on earth. To whom belong the woods, plains, and flocks of cattle he sees? Confronted with the good things of this world, and feeling that he must use them to make a livelihood, he yet shrinks from seizing upon them, perhaps because conscience, that sense of justice latent in us all, warns him to keep his hands off what does not belong to him, perhaps because the fear of being caught by the owner renders him cautious. And indeed it has often happened, and will doubtless often happen again, that the invisible Master, concealed behind this visible world, will reveal His presence, either by celestial phenomena, fertilizing rain, storms and thunder, by catastrophes denoting His anger, by epidemics, accidents, or deaths which arrest those who would rob nature of her possessions or her secrets. This very simple and at the same time very solemn theory makes the primitive man most chary of selling ground. He says to himself: "It is quite allowable to make strangers pay for using roads which we ourselves have made, for settling in our own country, and for cultivating the earth which sustains us, but who dare sell the ground? As well might we think of appropriating the air, the daylight, or the sun! All these belong to *Another* . . . ." Man in his savage state, therefore, takes what he requires in this world. But he keeps back the first-fruits, and sacrifices from time to time a symbolical proportion of what he consumes, thus fulfilling his obligations; and he protects himself against possible reprisals by recognizing the sovereignty of the supernatural, whether it appear to him in the form of one superior Being, or in other circumstances as spirits keeping watch over certain rivers and plots of ground, or as the *manês* or shades of his own relations.

And in order that there may be no mistake about his relinquishing his share or tithes, he gives a sacred character to the apportionment by appropriate ceremonies which effectually prevent himself or his fellows

from touching what he has set aside. If he goes no further, his gifts may be called an *oblation.* But often, in order still further to emphasize his intention, he stands aside, as it were, from his gifts by destroying them for the use of mortals, thus transmitting them at the same time into the unseen world. The oblation has then become a *sacrifice.* This consecrated and sacrificial offering is penetrated thenceforward by a supernatural virtue. If it is consumed or assimilated, the person so fed will be enabled to approach more closely the spirit who has resided in, or touched, the sacrifice, and can contract or renew an alliance with him. Here we have *communion.* Doubtless the primitive man does not follow up so consecutive a train of thought, but his ritual and worship none the less carry out this sequence of ideas. Offerings, sacrifices, libations, the dividing and consuming of the victim, and prayer offered either with or without these exterior rites, all exist in the land of the Black Races. And all are the expression of a religious worship, often lamentably neglected, it is true, but which can only be explained by the root-idea we have attempted to sketch, an idea which cannot help occurring to the mind of man, whom Professor James calls the only metaphysical animal.

MORALITY.—This conception, besides being the foundation of belief and worship, is also the basis of religious ethics, where it underlies an innate sense of justice, and of the law of nature, however obscured. While taking for his use what nature freely gives him, primitive man believes that he *must* keep his hand off what his Master has, by some sign or other, declared sacred. And as soon as we connect this idea with the duty of worship, we find ourselves saying with M. J. Lagrange:[1] "All religion implies an exaction, and a moral exaction, since the morality of our acts is indissolubly bound up with the idea of

[1] M. J. Lagrange, O.P., *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, p. 7, 1905.

obligation." Here we touch the religious interdict or "taboo," which may not be infringed without danger, pollution, or sin. These penalties can only be averted by various expiatory practices, which at Kikuyu,[1] for instance, imply sacrifice, confession, penance, and absolution. Of course the Black Races too often act chiefly out of self-interest, selfishness, and fear; but we cannot really expect poor savages to understand the meaning of a disinterested love of God. But although it may be obscured by a mass of doubtful motives, we can surely perceive the idea of religious respect for some order of things established by the mysterious power to which man is subject. And is not this in itself a visible link, feeble though it be, between the religious morality of the Black Races and its true source?

The fact is, that when people say that the religion of uncivilized peoples is incapable of teaching them morality, they are confusing magic with religion. Magic is, in fact, brutally utilitarian. The "good" is what is pleasant or useful. In the contaminated atmosphere of sorcery, selfishness rules triumphantly and often tyrannically. *Væ victis!* The vanquished are the weak; slaves, women, and children. It is this barbarous code which often prevails over and stifles purer morality among the Black Races, in the same way that magic and superstition stifle religion. Like religion, this anti-religion has a worship of its own, with incantations, evocations, fetishes, offerings, sacrifices, ministers, festivals, and assemblies. Anti-religion also claims to receive its power and means of action from beings of another world, shades and spirits; not by praying to them as religion would, but by forcing them to obey, with mysterious and usually abominable practices, among which may often be the murder of near relatives, wives, sons, and daughters. . . . The ministers of this worship are sorcerers and witches. They usually work separately, sometimes for their own advantage, and sometimes for that of their employer, by wreaking vengeance, promising success in different enterprises, or by causing the disappearance of enemies, neighbours, or relatives. They also often form themselves into secret societies, with councils and meetings which usually take place at night, in the depth of the woods and far away from villages. They pretend that their power comes from compacts with spirits from another world, by a

[1] Kikuyu is in East Africa, above Kenia.

ritual only known to their affiliated members. Extraordinary manifestations, mysterious apparitions, transformations of human beings into animals; possession, poisonings, ritual murder, the making of images to torture human beings in effigy, cannibalism, and all the diabolical practices of sorcery may be found in the countries of the Black Races.

SOCIAL LIFE.—But to return to religion properly so called; how is it that such uncivilized peoples have managed to retain the religious traditions which I have briefly described? The answer is, that the essentially human institution of "the family," or domestic life, remains permanently established amongst them wherever they may be. Family life among the primitive Africans, and all other primitive races, is the inseparable mainstay of all religious life. The birth and education of children, the training of adolescents, marriage, death and burial, every phase of domestic life is consecrated by religion, so that both mutually support each other and stand or fall together. Where domestic life and religion are strongly implanted, you find a prosperous tribe; where they have disintegrated, the tribe has disappeared. Therefore, these rudimentary social groups seem constantly preoccupied with the idea of drawing family ties as closely together as possible under the authority of a chief, who usually unites the rights and duties of a patriarch to the functions of a minister of religion. We find monogamy among the poorest and most primitive tribes; elsewhere polygamy chiefly prevails, but subject to certain laws. It is intended to bring greater wealth, more marketable produce, wider connections and ties, and hence, greater authority. Naturally, such an institution does not run quite smoothly and peacefully. Often individuals find their interests unfairly absorbed into those of the community; women, little by little, become practically slaves, children are sacrificed to caprice and interested motives, and the chief easily degenerates into a tyrant. But however

hard such laws may be, they are the framework of something quite different from the careless and promiscuous herding together which we sometimes hear of. Whether under polygamy or monogamy, domestic life is protected by numerous religious and moral precautions, in the sense that we are here speaking of religion and of morals. The institution of family life is protected by father, mother, and children from the cradle to the grave, in the evident attempt to purify it and keep up the ties of blood and tradition, while a spirit of unity tends to keep away all dangers that could menace the members of one race. Furthermore, the *manês* of ancestors are propitiated, that they may at least refrain from harming their descendants. Among the restrictions framed to protect family life I will mention two, *exogamy* and *totemism*. Exogamy is the universal rule which forbids young men taking wives from their own tribe, or among their own relations. This prevents marriage between those nearly akin, as well as the crime of incest. Of course, this is a form of *taboo*, but most interesting when we remember that it exists amongst those primitive races who are constantly described to us as having lived, or as living still, in a purely animal state of promiscuity. *Totemism* is another domestic institution, and consists in the superstitious respect shown by the savage for some class of material objects, between each specimen of which and himself he believes a peculiar and intimate relation to subsist.[1]

For instance, if one tribe have for emblem a serpent, its members will all take a reptilian name, they will declare that they are related to snakes, abstain from killing them, and believe themselves immune from snake-bite. The same thing applies to the chimpanzee clan, the leopards, etc. What can be the origin of such a strange institution? Totemism,

[1] *Cf.* Lect. I., p. 6.

broadly speaking, is based upon the theory that man can not only have dealings with denizens of an invisible and supernatural world, but can actually make friendly compacts with them, for the protection of his own person and posterity. But, as the representatives of the supernatural world cannot be reached themselves and do not, in the ordinary course of things, come into direct contact with us, they must be approached through our visible fellow-beings and allies, by means of magic ceremonies. These ceremonies must take the form of a compact, sealed by the shedding of blood, sacrifice, and communion. For community of blood establishes community life, and as animals are the only living beings which can furnish the essential element of blood, we must make our compact with them, when they are transformed or, so to speak, *supernaturalized* by a spirit, generally that of an ancestor. Other beings will not be taken, unless circumstances seem to point to them in some particular way as the guardian spirits of certain families or individuals. Needless to say, this institution is not found everywhere in its complete and original form; some tribes retain faint traces of totemism and others appear completely to ignore it. But there is no difficulty in piecing out the whole theory from the various survivals which we find, and which are derived from one identical conception. After this brief summary the question arises, Is totemism as important as has been asserted by those who, one feels, are labouring to support an *a priori* system? I do not think so. Totemism is simply a social, or, to put it better, a domestic institution, based on a foundation of magic. It does not profess either to create a religious or moral conscience, to foster belief in spirits, or to help community life; on the contrary, it takes for granted that all this exists already. If a man make a compact with a denizen of the invisible world, he must believe such spirits exist; we do not ally ourselves to nothingness.

II

Other African Tribes

When we leave the Bantus and pass on to examine other similar African peoples, Nigrite and Hamite races, we find a singular religious affinity between them all. The first thing we notice is that family life and religion are closely connected and firmly established everywhere. Of course, it is not family life which has bred religion, but we may safely say that religion was the chief factor in organizing, maintaining, and safeguarding the family life of these primitive social groups, who in their turn have preserved the principal elements of religion. The individual family, as the centre of faith, is consequently the centre of worship, which from thence has spread to camp, village, clan, and tribe. Marriage is surrounded by certain practices of an unmistakably religious character, whether these rites are performed at the time of the matrimonial union, or in anticipation of it, as for instance at the age of puberty, or of the initiation of adolescence. This is the idea underlying the rite of circumcision, which is observed not only by the numerous coloured populations of Africa, Bantus, Negritos, Hamites, by Melanesians and Polynesians from the Southern Pacific Isles, but even by several American tribes. We also find everywhere that the young men take wives outside their own kin. At the same time each separate tribe endeavours to distinguish itself as much as possible from all the surrounding populations; it keeps to its own beliefs, habits, and rites, its own type of hut, its arms, ornaments, and distinctive marks on skin, teeth, and hair. Hence the tatooings, which in some parts, such as Polynesia, have become quite an art. Elsewhere the natives design a regular coat of arms on their shields.

To return to the Hottentots. Le Vaillant was

unable to find any trace of religion in times gone by, but De Quatrefages assures us[1] that Livingstone found the two truths of the existence of God and of a future life universally admitted in Africa even by the most degraded tribes. Every inexplicable phenomenon is assigned to God as to its cause, and it is to God that the dead are declared to have gone.

They have family worship and private prayers. At dawn of day they leave their huts and crouch down behind the bushes, where, with faces turned to the East, they pray to Tsui-Goa, "The Father of Fathers." Each family considers its own ancestors as a kind of Lares or household gods, to whom prayers and gifts are offered.

To pass to French Guinea. "Family or individual religion is the basis of all social organization. The father of the family, patriarch, or secondary chief is priest. The honour he pays, the sacrifices and gifts he offers, are intended for the *manés* of his own ancestors, and especially for the founder of his own family or that of the tribe springing from it."[2] The same ideas and practices are found in all the negro tribes in the valley of the Niger and in the Soudan. Thus, throughout the whole of Africa, it is a natural transition to pass from ideas of domestic life in this world to the family survival in the next. Side by side with the mysterious promptings of nature (these influences being sometimes localized in fetishes, on the coast of Benin, on the Niger, in Dahomey, etc.), we find everywhere the belief in *manés*. Then come the spirits, some of whom seem to be no more than disembodied souls, while others are of supernatural origin; and finally the Supreme Being. The notion of the existence of the Supreme Being grows clearer and clearer as we go farther north. For instance, among the Yorubas of the valley of the Niger, God

[1] *Les Pygmées*, p. 292.
[2] A. Arcin, *La Guinée Française*, p. 422.

is usually called *Olorun*, "The Master of the Skies." But they also venerate a great number of other divinities called *Orishas*, who preside over the atmosphere, fire, trade, births, the sea, war, sport, agriculture, etc. In addition to these are the *Egun*, or guardians of hearth and home, and the wicked spirits called *Esu*. Fetish worshippers (*Babalawo*) are also very prominent here, in all that concerns dealings with the dead, numerous sacrifices, soothsaying, and the interpretation of omens. The Yorubas have also a real code of religious morality, which commands respect to the "gods," obedience to parents and chiefs, and fidelity in marriage, and forbids murder, theft, sorcery, adultery, suicide, etc.; all which commandments are based upon the idea of a kind of immanent Providence who rewards good and punishes evil. Major A. Glynn Leonard, in his remarkable work on the tribes of the Lower Niger, corroborates us absolutely. Among the Hamite tribes, such as the *Massai*, *Gallas*, and others, the ideal of family life is even more faithfully kept up than among either Negritos or Bantus. The Massai, who are all herdsmen, recognize neither temples, images, nor any kind of fetish; but it may be truly said of them that they have constantly the name of God (En-Ngai) on their lips, without, however, being able to explain what or where He is. Their women pray twice a day, night and morning, except under exceptional circumstances, such as war. Men and children only pray in time of drought, or when their cattle are attacked by sickness. Bloody sacrifices are also fairly frequent. The Massai believe in the existence and survival of the human soul, but they do not fear spirits. The Gallas, or Oromo, have such clear and definite notions of religion that it is unnecessary to go into them. They believe in God (*Waka*), in good spirits, or souls of the just (*Aulia*), they offer gifts and prayers, and have a sacrifice or ceremony of communion called *Wadadja*.

III

"Primitives" outside Africa

After reviewing the primitive races of Africa, there remain of course those of Oceania, America, and even some in Asia and Europe. Space does not permit of my describing these races at length. But in all these directions it is quite possible to trace the same basis of religious belief and practice, with various important differences, to be explained in many cases by special circumstances, environment, or racial characteristics. For instance, the Australians, who were so long supposed to have no religion at all, are no worse off in this respect than the black tribes of Africa. They have some idea of an All-Powerful Being (*Motogon*), of an evil spirit (*Cienga*), survival after death, etc. Totemism is practised in an advanced form among certain tribes; among others it appears unknown, but nowhere does it overpower really religious conceptions.[1] The same may be said of Melanesians, Papuans, Fijians, and Nova-Scotians, among whom we find varying proportions of sorcery and superstition mixed up with religion. The idea of taboo, for instance, derived from the conviction that what is *sacred* must be preserved from all human contact on pain of committing sacrilege or provoking calamity, is universal in Oceania, but specially developed in Polynesia. In fact the expression itself (which is employed throughout European literature) came from the last-named place. As for the belief in God, it is general, but not always clear or definite.

To turn to America. From one end to the other all explorers

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[1] On this point the assertions of B. Spencer and J. Gillen, in *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899) and *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (1904), who both denied that the Aruntas of Central Australia have any idea of a Supreme Being, have been flatly contradicted by M. C. Strehlow (missionary in Central Australia since 1892) in the first volume of his *Die Aranda und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien*, published in Frankfort in 1907. The Aruntas likewise have some idea of a supreme, good, and eternal Being, Altjira, who lives in Heaven. Totemism would seem to have been a later importation, which has rather ousted the earlier belief in a Supreme Being. The primitive character of totemism has also been disputed by A. Lang ("Australian Problems," in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, Oxford, 1907). Finally, neither Howitt (*The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 1904) nor Klaatsch (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1907, pp. 635–690) have discovered among the tribes of South-East or North-West Australia this developed system of totemism which Spencer and Gillen attribute to the Aruntas. *Cf. Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, vol. ii. (1908), pp. 565–566.

have found peoples differing in aspect, language, customs, and civilization. But, as regards religion, the following ideas have been found more or less everywhere. A Great Spirit who rules the world, inferior spirits who manifest themselves by cosmic phenomena, such as stars, rivers, forests, animals, plants, etc. (the latter being perhaps more clearly distinguished from purely human forms than in Africa), and finally, souls of men, who survive the destruction of the body. These are often punished or rewarded, often disappear into the Unknown, yet often return among men by reincarnation in the child who reproduces his father's features, or in the totem—animal, plant, or object. Although we have found traces of totemism in Africa or Oceania, with survivals in Asia and Europe, this institution has taken root and developed more fully in America, especially in the north. The same belief in a higher world, with suitable worship and moral rules, has been proved to exist among the primitive peoples of Northern Asia and Europe — Lapps, Samoyeds, Votiaks, Esquimaux, etc.

We cannot linger now to discuss the ancient forms of civilization of which the amazing relics are daily being revealed by excavation on the banks of the Tiber, the Euphrates, or the Nile. But if we were to examine them, we should see that each one had an organized system of worship, which we discover to have been simpler and purer as we trace it back through the history of the ages, with prayer and sacrifice as its central doctrines, and the survival of the soul after death for punishment or reward as its *raison d'être.*

IV

Negrillos and Negritos

To return to Africa. However far back Egyptian monuments may carry us, the peoples who erected them, and whom we connect with the more or less modified Berber stock, had been preceded in the valley of the Nile by other human beings belonging to the unmixed tribe of *Ham*, spoken of above. It is by these that the African negroes had been banished, and the negroes had themselves driven the Bantus back before them. And the Bantus had per-

ceived here and there a mysterious little folk wandering in nomadic groups, with no towns or villages of their own, with no farms, no cattle to breed, knowing no industries, and possessing none of the essentials for founding a tribe. These people, it appears, are to be found now exactly in the same state as the Bantus found them, and as they were depicted later on by Egyptian artists on the obelisks — unchanged since the days when their forefathers, in captivity under the Pharaohs, passed before the great Sphinx at Memphis with its immemorial smile. Older than the Sphinx, the Pyramids, and all the writings copied from papyrus, bronze, brick, or stone, these Pygmies or African Negrillos can tell us their own story at the present day. What have these mysterious little people got to say, with their surnames, such as *Wa-twa*, *Ba-twa*, *Aba-twa*, *Be-Kü*, etc., meaning "hunted out," "dispersed," "wanderers"? In the first place, they all protest that the land they wander over belongs to them; they own the forests, plains, rivers, wild fruits and game, and "the others" are strangers who have come after them on to their own property and therefore owe them homage. Strange to say, these "others" (Bantu, Hottentot, and Negrito tribes) admit that this is true, and that the Pygmies were the original lords of the soil. But this is not all. In Southern Africa are found the Sân, or Bush-men, who have astonishing points of resemblance with the Pygmies. Then, if we turn towards the Indian Ocean, we shall see yet another similar race, the Negritos, represented by more or less mixed groups in the Andaman Islands, the Malacca Peninsula, and the Philippines, besides other traces of them in India, in Ceylon, Beluchistan, and elsewhere. Now, if we try to grasp what are the religious beliefs and practices of this tiny people, to our surprise we shall find them anything but obscure. They are much the same in all the different tribes, and, what is more, they are singularly definite, because so much simpler and less

complicated than those of the more civilized races among whom the Pygmies live. First of all, wherever we find Sân, Pygmies, or Negritos, family life is a settled institution, and with the exception of perhaps a few important centres, the head of the family is everything, father, chief, and priest. Monogamy is the usual practice. One very general and remarkable trait in their religion is the apparently universal absence of temples, enclosures, or the miniature huts found among the Bantus. No fetishes are used. A few individuals wear very simple amulets, usually in the form of little bits of wood, which they believe to be "remedies." They are quite famous for all sorts of recipes and contrivances, they have not their equal in "the science of the soil"—in other words, in forest-lore generally. They do not appear to worship the stars, but we find the idea which we have mentioned before, that man is but a sojourner in a strange land, is very real to them; and hence they are very careful not to use what nature has hidden from the eye (such as springs of water) without preliminary rites and sacrifices. The Pygmies evidently recognize the distinction between soul and body, and take great care to bury their kin suitably. This would seem to serve two ends: firstly, the bodies would be hidden from every eye; and secondly, the *manês*, or shades, would be prevented from returning as "ghosts." The same practices obtain among the Minkopis of the Andamans and the Aëtas of the Philippines. But the really remarkable fact among all this is the absolutely clear and distinct idea of a Supreme Being, Lord over all, who has given them the earth. Every year, with the recurring season, the Pygmies of the equatorial forest sacrifice to Him a *Nkula* nut, which they pick from the topmost branch of the tree and burn on a fire of green wood, with prayers and dances. But this Lord is a severe Master; it is He who from time to time descends among the encampments and carries off the souls of the dead. He is

3 1301

much to be feared, and the life of these poor woodland creatures is passed in trying to avoid God. . . . The Sân say that there is in heaven a *Kaang*, or chief, whom they call *Kue-Ahenteng*, the *Master of all Things*, who disposes of life and death. The moral characteristics of all these tiny peoples are also most interesting. The natives of the Andaman Isles use the word *yubba*, which E. H. Man translates by *sin*, or *evil deed*, and is applied to lying, theft, violence, murder, and adultery. All these actions are believed to call down the anger of *Puluga*, the Creator. The ties of kinship are respected. Rape, seduction and unnatural vices seem unknown.[1] The sense of modesty is universal.

V

Prehistoric Man

I wish it had been possible to conclude this study with the scattered proofs we find here and there of the existence of prehistoric man; for it would have been of the greatest interest to compare the testimony of the genuine "Primitives" with what we have described. But unfortunately we have so very little to go upon, that it would be unwise to speak at length of their civilization. All we can say is that they lived a very similar life to that of the so-called savage tribes still found in Africa, Northern Europe, and Australia. Now, we should be quite wrong in picturing to ourselves these "savages" as barely above the brute, dragging out a miserable existence, half-witted and wholly immoral. A short sojourn among present-day "Primitives" would soon change these ideas. These people are quite contented, often intelligent, moral and religious according to their lights, and, in fact, are better pleased with their free and simple lives than they would be with all the complications, obligations, ambitions, and disappoint-

[1] E. H. Man in *Les Pygmées*, by A. de Quatrefages.

ments of our refined civilization. Our own distant ancestors can hardly have been other. As for their religious sense, "that of the men of the neolithic age has never been disputed. Belief in another life is common to all neolithic tribes, as we see by the remarkable honours they paid to their dead. . . . . Whatever the nature of the tomb, we find on it mortuary offerings which we now treasure as helps in the science of ethnology."[1] If we go back to the dimmest ages which modern research can show us, the least we can say is that in so far as philosophy and science can prove that the act of burying the dead presupposes the existence of faith and the religious sense, we can take for granted that from the earliest period when human races bred and intermingled, religion existed among them.

VI

Conclusion

What must we conclude from this rapid summary? First of all it has been proved that in all times and places men formed into families, and that these families were clearly bound together by religion. We also see that the ancient forms of civilization, as well as those primitive social groups which have existed until our own day in different parts of the earth, were both based on exactly the same elementary principles of religion. The differences between them are entirely exterior and accidental. Each separate people has had its special gifts, its own characteristics, its own degree of civilization, its rich, barren, or poetic imagination, its lawlessness, or its settled social discipline; and these have all reacted on the mass of primitive beliefs and traditional practices which the tribes possessed in common. And this explains a fact which at first sight seems disconcerting, but can be

[1] A. de Quatrefages, *Introduction à l'étude des races humaines*, p. 278.

made quite clear to anyone not hide-bound in prejudice. It is this. The Greeks and Romans had an overloaded and more corrupt religion than the Assyrio-Chaldeans; the latter had a lower type of faith than the Egyptians; the Egyptians practised a more multiple and complex, but less intelligible, ritual than that of the Hamites and Bantus, and these last-mentioned races had vaguer and more confused ideas of religion than those of our poor Pygmies, who worship in a simple and devout way, because they have too little imagination to add even corruptions to the foundation of dogma and morals which has supported them till to-day during the long centuries of their nomadic existence. I do not, naturally, pretend to say that these peoples from the five regions of the globe had, strictly speaking, a common religion, capable of being coherently and systematically defined. But if we take away from these local religions all that specially characterizes them, what do we find beneath these successive additions, which, like geological strata, have more or less irregularly formed themselves on the bare surface of the human soul? A small number of beliefs, practices, moral obligations, and institutions which, as they are common to all these forms of faith, may be reasonably considered as the primary and fundamental elements of all religion. The primary truths found in a more or less clear form everywhere, when disentangled from a mass of superfluous mythology, superstition, and necromancy, are practically the following:—

(1) The distinction between the visible or natural, and the invisible or supernatural, worlds.

(2) Sense of man's dependence on a higher world, especially noticeable in the use he makes of nature.

(3) Belief in a supreme ruling and governing Power, as Lord of the World, Master of life and death.

(4) Belief in evil and mysterious spirits and beings, some as tutelary deities, others as hostile to man.

(5) Belief in the soul and its survival after death.

(6) Belief in a future world, which we shall one day enter through the gates of death.

(7) Universal moral sense based on the difference between good and evil; instincts of justice, responsibility, liberty, duty, and modesty; with an implicit or explicit recognition of a conscience.

(8) Practices and restrictions having some moral, or supposedly moral, end in view.

(9) Definite system of worship; prayers, gifts, sacrifices, rites, ceremonies, and symbols, as expressions of submission, penance, thanksgiving, or impetration.

(10) A priesthood, originating first in the heads of families, then carried on by elders of tribes, by "seers," or by priests specially deputed to perform sacred functions, and then by organized groups.

(11) Distinction between what is "sacred" and "profane," as affecting persons, places, objects, words, etc.

(12) Organized and permanent maintenance of family life as being a religious and social centre, with attempts to preserve racial purity as much as possible by stringent rules concerning ties of blood, marriages, etc.

Some few articles of belief might have been added to this list, but certainly none can honestly be withdrawn. All these points, as grains of gold mingled with sand or refuse, have appeared at some time or place in the religion of every nation of the world. This is a fact which it is impossible to deny, and one that can be proved at any moment. Therefore we say that the *Religion of the Primitive Races* consists of these essential and fundamental doctrines.[1]

[1] Can we give such a religion a name? Certain authors, whose only interest in studying religions has been the desire to destroy them, have studied this difficult subject from the standpoint of a law of blind evolution. They insist that this law, which creates as well as evolves, brought man out of animalism, as animal life itself out of dead matter. According to this, men were successively nature-worshippers, animists, fetish-worshippers, idolators, polytheists, and theists. It is admissible that all these elements have entered into the religions of almost all civilized and uncivilized nations, but we must be careful in all cases to distinguish between true and mimic religion, which is too seldom done. No religion can be said to consist entirely of either naturalism, animism, or fetish-worship: some other truer description must be found to fit it. Neither do I attempt to give the origin of what I have described as Primitive religion. But when confronted with the elements which compose it, we may say to ourselves that as none of these doctrines

APPENDIX

We may add the following translations as examples of the prayers of "Primitives" (ED.):—

Prayers of the Wa-nyika (quoted from L. Krapf, by Mgr. Le Roy, *Religion des Primitifs*, Paris, 1909, p. 300).

(*On starting upon a journey.*)

Ho, Thou, God who art aloft! See, I am starting on a journey. Well, Thou, God, keep me. Going to traffic, may I gain. Have pity on me, that I may come home safe and sound.

(*To ask for rain.*)

Ho, God, Thou! Give us rain. We are in misery: we travail; and we are Thy children. Well, give us

are outside the grasp of human reason, therefore it is not theoretically impossible that religion is simply the outcome of man's intelligence and conscience. But we must admit that the hypothesis of a divine revelation, providentially enshrined and preserved in domestic worship and family life, is a far more satisfactory explanation of the problem. It is remarkable enough that these beliefs, practices, and institutions should have been so universally transmitted, but still more so if it is proved that they existed when first human beings congregated together. The simple explanation is that reason and conscience must have been supported and directed through all the errors and faults to which humanity is liable. by the supernatural assistance always promised to "men of goodwill." The more we seek to understand this great question, the more we feel disposed to agree with this conclusion: "Everything tends to show that the human race, when first it began to spread from its cradle at an epoch which science is unable to fix with precision, was put in possession of a deposit of religious and ethical truths, and the elements of a ritual of worship. All this took root in man's very nature, growing with the development of family and social life (in proportion to the mental equipment of each race, its mentality, and its special conditions of existence). It gradually produced those externally different but fundamentally identical forms of worship which we call *religions*; and, in course of time, mythology, superstitions, and necromancy have fastened like parasites on to these beliefs, and have perverted them from their true object" (Mgr. A. Le Roy, *La Religion des Primitifs*, Paris (Beauchesne), p. 484).

clouds of rain; that the folk may gain food [things], we pray Thee, O Thou, God! Thou, our Father!

A song of exorcism by a death-bed.

The son [*i.e.* the eldest and heir] *is gone to the fields, to see whether the trees be fully ripe* [*scl.*, whether the soul of his father is ripe for death].

The trees are ripe. The spirits [*i.e.* of the ancestors, come to fetch the parting soul] are abroad. The time is come. The night begins. The prisoner is free! *The son is gone*, etc.

The prisoner is free. He passes to the further shore, without looking behind him, without looking behind him. *The son is gone*, etc.

The shade has brushed against the hearth of the hut. [*Very slowly.*] I see a spark, which passes like a glow-worm, which turns, which flies around a palm-tree.

Another death-bed hymn.

O father, alas! alas! why leavest thou thy hearth?
A man hath slain thee, father . . . .
Thy shade shall pass to the further bank . . . .
O father, why abandonest thou thy hearth, O father?
The sky hath brightened, and the eyes are darkened.
The water [=life] falleth from the tree, drop by drop.
The rat [=the spirit] hath left its hole . . . .
A man now seeth invisible things.

[*Ib.*, pp. 148, 149.]

The Nandi, east of the Victoria Nyanza, say:—

On building a house.

God, give us health.
God, give us milk.
God, give us power.
God, give us corn.
God, give us everything that is good.
God, guard our children and our cattle.

At harvest.

God, give us health,
And may we be given strength,
And may we be given milk.
If any man eats of this corn, may he like it.
And if a pregnant woman eats it, may she like it.

Transactions of the Third Internat. Congr. for the Hist. of Religion, i. 89, Oxford, 1908.

Mgr. Le Roy (*ib.*, p. 183) tells the following anecdote:

"One day at Bagamoyo, I was present at the departure of a European, who was going to buy ivory. The caravan, composed of Nyamwezis, was ready to start. The head carrier exclaimed, 'God be propitious to us!'

"'God!' said the European. 'We don't need *Him*. My money and my gun are God enough for *me*!'

"The carriers looked at one another, laid down their burdens, and began to withdraw. The European begged me to intercede. 'No,' answered these simple folk, 'this white man is bad; did you not hear him insult God? With him, only misfortune could happen to us.' And they all left him."

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THE RELIGIONS OF JAPAN

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GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

DURING the last generation there has taken place in Japan a revolution hitherto unexampled in the whole domain of material and intellectual progress. The history of human civilization has nothing like it to show. A people who, fifty years ago, jealously defended itself, as if from a strange invader, against all contact with Christian civilization, is now concentrating its whole strength on appropriating and completing the fruits of Western conquests. Religion and morals are the only territory not yet thoroughly saturated with the influx of new ideas. While every effort is being made to assimilate completely all the benefits of Western civilization, the great mass of the people remains even more refractory than before to any religious influence coming from without. The Japanese, though not a really religious people, are, like the Hindoos, quite dominated by the idea of tradition in religion, and they cling closely to all the religious traditions of the ancient Japanese civilization, which is now completely dead. It is therefore peculiarly interesting to study their true spirit, and to compare it with their real value in the present day. But this problem is complicated and made very difficult by the fact that we are not dealing with a single tradition.

I. Syncretism of Religious Tradition

The national religious tradition of Japan is summed up in the word Shinto, "The Way of the Gods." The word is of Chinese origin, the old Japanese faith having had no special name until Buddhism was introduced from China. Shinto was then used to designate the popular belief in native gods, as distinguished from that belief in Buddha which had been imported from another country. Shinto, "The Way of the Gods," and Butsudo, "The Way of Buddha," contain in themselves the whole religious tradition of Japan. To these must be added the ethical system of the doctrines of Confucius on the State and Society. Shinto and Buddhism, though having separate temples and distinctly different rites, are so firmly blended as a religious conviction in the Japanese mind, that it is impossible to divide the population into Buddhists or Shintoists in the way that our own statistics tabulate Catholics and Protestants. Shinto is the primitive religion of ancient Japan. But Buddhism has become so incorporated in the very life of the people, that most of them may be called as much Buddhist as Shintoist. It is true that there are priests of Shinto and priests of Buddha, but there is no exclusive sect of the votaries of either. A Japanese will alternately worship in the ceremonial of either. The official registers may give us the statistics of Shintoist and Buddhist temples and priests in Japan, with the number of schools they keep up, and of pupils taught there, but there is no means of making a religious census to divide the nation into Shintoists and Buddhists. This is the great gulf which separates Shinto and Buddhism on the one side from Christianity on the other. The Christian religion implies one community of believers. Buddhism, despite its divergences from Shinto, cannot form a community of believers united under one rule of

faith. In Buddhism as in Shinto, membership in the community means no more than the external participation in rites performed in a Buddhist or a Shinto pagoda respectively.

No one has more forcibly expressed this eclectic attitude of the Japanese towards religious problems than their great educational reformer Fukuzawa. "It goes without saying," he writes, "that the maintenance of peace and security in society requires a religion. For this purpose any religion will do. . . . Of religions there are several kinds—Buddhism, Christianity, and what not. Yet from my standpoint, there is no more difference between these than between green tea and black tea. It makes little difference whether you drink one or the other. The point is to let those who have never drunk tea partake of it and know its taste. Just so with religion. Religionists are like tea-merchants. They are busy selling their own kind of religion. As for the method of procedure in this matter, it is not a good policy for one to disparage the stock of others in order to praise his own. What he ought to do is to see that his stock is well selected and his prices cheap."[1]

The shallowness and frivolity of such eclecticism in religion is only equalled by the almost puerile credulity with which the most ancient documents containing the religious traditions of Japan have been treated by the orthodox champions of Japanese nationalism up to the present day.

II. Sources of National Religious Tradition

The most ancient religious tradition is based on two historical works dating back as far as the eighth century after Christ, if we may call a work historical

[1] *Japan Herald*, 9th September 1897: quoted by Chamberlain in *Things Japanese*, p. 404.

which is so largely intermingled with myth. These are KOJIKI, and NIHONGI, written a few years later. In these writings, historical reminiscences and mythological fictions are so confused as to be absolutely inextricable. Native commentators admit this, but they get over the difficulty with so much flippancy that the ordinary methods of historical criticism are useless. Writers of strictly nationalist and orthodox views make capital out of the very impossibility of separating truth from fable by saying that everything in the nationalist documents is to be taken literally, whether it refers to events in the natural or in the mythological order. Those who have drunk more deeply of the cup of modern scientific scepticism reject or ignore the myths of the gods, it is true, but they always retain as historical tradition whatever is related of the Imperial family and their descent from the gods. There is not a shadow of proof to justify such an arbitrary distinction. The mythical history of Jimmu Tennô, the first earthly Mikado, will not bear criticism any more than the other divine fables. All that is related of the earliest Imperial rulers is just as fabulous as the legend of the first divine couple, Izanagi and Izanami, the original representatives of masculine and feminine creative power. From this it follows that the worship offered up to the present day to the divine "Grandmother" of the reigning house of Mikados, is no historical reverence founded on more or less authentic national history, but is the mythical cultus of the Sun-goddess, Amaterasu, and the central doctrine of ancient Japanese mythology.

Thus Shinto, considered as a collection of the religious traditions of ancient Japan, is revealed as a tissue of fables.

It is only towards the year 600 after Christ that we begin to stand on firm historical ground. That is about the date of the great event in Japanese

history, the "conversion" of the nation to Buddhism, which took place, roughly speaking, between 552 and 621 after Christ. It was through Korea that Japan received Buddhism from China. Thenceforward Japanese civilization began to develop on parallel lines with that of India and China, but was subordinate to both those countries. As far as the earliest connections between them allows us to judge, Chinese influence first made itself felt in the third century, when in a very slow and sporadic way it began to affect the very primitive popular life of Japan. But when the Buddhist emissaries from Korea had discovered how to reach the Japanese islands by sea, a far more radical transformation took place. Buddhism educated Japan: in the school of Buddha the Japanese grew and became a nation whose religious and moral principles sprang far more truly from India and China than from their native soil.

And so it came about, quite naturally, that Buddhist and Confucianist influences, spreading over Japan in successive waves during more than a thousand years, transformed the old faith of the people. This was all the easier, since the ancient Japanese religion was still very undeveloped, while the religion imported from the foreign country was not only very much more perfected, but was wonderfully suited to Japanese surroundings.

III. (*a*) Shinto

1. *Different Periods of Shinto*

Unlike Buddhism, Shinto in its beginning was an original creation of the mind of the Japanese people. It has passed through many changes under the influence of Buddhism and Confucianism. Three periods of development may be noted:—

During the first period, which extends to about the year 550 after Christ, the Japanese had not yet begun to conceive of religion as anything but an institution of the State or civil society. Worship of the gods, that is to say of the spirits of the Imperial ancestry, was a custom, founded on the same motives as those which dictated blind obedience to the living Mikado, himself an object of profound veneration. In addition to these practices were various prayers to the gods of wind and fire, and to the goddesses of food, cookery, etc. There also existed certain settled customs of purification, which, however, referred much more to bodily pollution than to moral guilt. The cycle of ideas was entirely confined to the coarsest and grossest materialism. The faith of the people taught neither hell nor heaven. It made no clear distinctions between gods and men; the gods were good and bad, just as mortals are. The form of priesthood was absolutely primitive, each special divinity having its own priests. A wooden shed thatched with straw was used as the national sanctuary; there the three treasures were preserved which the Mikado had inherited from his divine ancestors — the mirror, the sword, and the crown jewels of the reigning house. A daughter of the Mikado officiated as priestess, and watched over the national treasury. (*Cf.* Lect. XIII., p. 9.)

The second period of Shinto begins with Buddhism. During this period the ancient Japanese faith fell entirely under the influence of the new religion. It is quite likely that primitive Shinto, if left to itself, without the intervention of Buddhism, might have gradually generated a system of settled morals and dogma, and the spontaneous evolution of ritual might have developed an adequate liturgy. But at the stage when it was met by Buddhism, Shinto was too weak and poor in every sense to oppose efficaciously any new religion which could present itself equipped

with a complete code of morals, developed dogmas, brilliant ritual, and all the culture of art. Bronze or carved wooden statues of Buddha were held up to the homage of the people, amidst all the attractions of stately ceremonial. This magnificence, contrasted with the almost shabby simplicity of Shinto, naturally helped to increase the influence of Buddhism over the old faith, and produced a kind of blended religion called Ryobu-Shinto, a compromise between the new and the old religions. This explains the tolerance of the middle and lower classes, who worship indifferently in the temples of either faith. Buddhism, when transplanted to an alien soil, has the faculty of taking on any local colour and adapting itself to its new surroundings, by hospitably welcoming to its temples the native gods it finds. The Shinto gods were transformed into incarnations of Buddha. The ceremonial usages of Shinto, as practised at the court of the Mikado, were combined with the Buddhist ritual, and at once lost their prestige. The worship of Buddha took the highest rank in the temple of the son of the Sun-goddess, and made its influence felt in all that concerned the building and arranging of temples, vestments, and ceremonies. In a few places only, for instance the sanctuaries of Isê and Izumo, Shinto was preserved in all its original simplicity, or, to put it better, in its original bareness. And even there, it is possible that important changes may have crept in during the course of centuries. Most Shinto temples were not served by bonzes or priests of Shinto, but by Buddhist bonzes, who made it their business to introduce surreptitiously into the native religion the ornaments and ceremonial of their own. This period of religious fusion extends from the year 550 to 1700 after Christ, thus occupying the greater part of Japanese civilization and history. This explains the inferior idea of religion in Japan. Shinto, which from the beginning was so abjectly

feeble, sank, during this second period, into complete degeneration. It was broken up into various small sects, which eked out their remnant of vitality by assimilating the basest forms of Buddhist superstition, and those savage and licentious doctrines of Taöistic occultism and sorcery which had been imported from China at the same time. (*Cf.* Lect. II., p. 9.)

The third period in the history of Shinto begins towards 1700 and still exists. It is known as "The Renascence of Pure Shinto." "Pure Shinto" stands for the national faith of the Japanese people as it existed before the introduction of Buddhism and the philosophy of Confucius. The word "renascence" points to the efforts kept up ever since the eighteenth century by a certain school of thinkers in Japan to eliminate alien influence and restore Shinto to its pure and original form. During the long spell of peace under the Shoguns of the Tokugawa family, Japanese men of letters began to cast a glance backwards over their national past. They exhumed old manuscripts, re-edited old books of history and poetry, while the ancient tongue of the people was ardently studied and imitated. This movement soon became semi-political and patriotic as well as religious in character. Before long it rose against the royal house of Shogun, because that dynasty had tried to reduce the power of the Mikado, descendant of the gods. Buddhism and the philosophy of Confucius were held up to contempt and ridicule. The most important movers in this were the following:— Mabuchi (1697–1769), a savant, Motoöri (1730–1801), and the latter's disciple Hirata (1776–1841), all thinking and capable men, who did an immense deal of literary work. Their whole lives were devoted to one aim, the dethroning of Buddha and Confucius, and the reinstating of the old faith of the people. This religious propaganda was ruled and governed

on the principle that there are only two essential things to be done: to follow the impulses of nature, and obey the Mikado. The Shinto religion was restored to its primitive "purity" by the elimination of all dogma and moral law. The revolution of 1868, which gave the supremacy of power to the Mikado once more, also set the seal of triumphant success on the propaganda of new ideas. The old national temples at this time were cleansed of all their Buddhist additions. Measures were taken everywhere for supplanting Buddhism by Shinto, and by order of the Government the Buddhist temples were transformed into Shinto ones, and in those places where well-known Buddhist pilgrimages had taken place, Shinto priests were to supplant the bonzes of Buddha. But these stringent changes were proofs of a short-sighted policy, for it would be difficult to find a more vapid and unsatisfying religion, if religion it can be called, than Shinto. The result of this renascence was to lower the standard of religious thought still more. The elimination of foreign elements left the want of definite faith and strict moral law more apparent than ever. But modern writers on the Shinto religion do not consider that the shadow of reproach exists. According to Chamberlain (who is quite impartial) they explain and justify this want by the "innate perfection of Japanese humanity," which renders superfluous any help from without.

The Japanese, Mr Chamberlain reminds us, need no sage nor prophet. Only "outcasts," such as are found among the Chinese and the Western nations, are so fundamentally corrupt in nature as to need a periodical return of sages and prophets. The Shintoist prides himself chiefly on his innumerable quantities of *Kami* or gods. But these myriads of deities are apparently unable to keep Shinto worship from degenerating.

2. *Shinto Gods*

The usual word for a god is *Kami.* This word, however, which is generally translated "god," does not correspond exactly to our idea of divinity. In its original sense *Kami* means all that is "above" or "higher," and is used to express whatever in any way inspires awe or respect. Thus all beings of a superior species are called *Kami.* Among these *Kami* we find two categories: "Gods of Nature," and "God-men." Although in course of time they have become blended together, their origin was quite separate. The gods of nature are personifications of such natural forces as light, fire, and wind; and material objects as mountains, rivers, seas, etc. Highest of all is the Sun-goddess, Amaterasu. The god-men are deified celebrities, especially family ancestors and heroes of legendary days. Highest of these is Jimmu Tennô, the founder of the Imperial dynasty. This deification consisted of the apotheosis of the dead who were believed to live again; there were no limits, and each individual death might mean a fresh accession to the Pantheon of *Kamis.* It was, however, usually the spirits of generals or celebrated scholars who were thus raised to divine honours. Whosoever had been distinguished for courage, intellect, and other great qualities, was ranked among the gods after death. It is thus that these legions of greater and lesser divinities have gradually filled the Pantheon of Shinto. The deification of ancestors spread so much during the course of centuries that it became the most distinctive feature of the Shinto religion. Among the influences which specially contributed to intensify Japanese ancestor-worship at the expense of the worship of the gods of nature was Chinese civilization, which brought with it Chinese ancestor-worship. Shinto gods are anything but noble or righteous personages. They have all the feelings and failings of men, and the

myth which tells of their glorious deeds is often of a repulsive and even obscene character. The two classes, gods of nature and god-men, have a marked tendency to intrude on each other's sphere of action, and to combine. The highest place is assigned to the Sun-goddess, Amaterasu. In her capacity of Queen of Heaven she is surrounded by a court, but she is not an independent deity. In important matters she has to defer to the council of the gods, where the approbation of the gods of moon, stars, earth, and water is of the greatest importance. From all this it will be seen that the gods of Shinto are really at a most primitive stage of development, and the same may be said of what pertains to their worship.

3. *Shinto Worship*

The "Halls of the Gods," called *Miya*, are used as temples. You reach the ground (*yashiro*) where the temple stands by going through the *torii*, a sort of gate formed of two high round posts driven into the ground, and fastened together by a cross-beam. A *miya* is very simple in its primitive form. It is a little temple containing no idol: in the principal hall the only things considered really "sacred" are symbolical objects placed upon an unpolished table which serves as the altar. These are: a metal mirror, symbolical of the divine light of the Sun-goddess; the *gohei*, a kind of upright wand from which fall strips of scalloped paper used instead of offerings of textile materials; and thirdly, a ball of rock-crystal, representing the power and purity of the gods. The true Shinto temple is built of unpainted *hinoki* wood, and covered with the bark of the *hinoki* tree. *Hinoki* and *sakaki* are the two woods especially consecrated to *Kami*-worship. Neither lacquer nor metal ornamentation is admissible in a *miya* of pure design.

Few of the temples have kept to this primitive

decoration; the most important of the simple ones is at Isê, and is dedicated to the Sun-goddess Amaterasu. You generally observe, on the left of the flight of steps leading to the hall, a long stone trough containing holy water; on the right, alms-boxes closed with a wooden trellis, intended for copper money, and close to these boxes a rope attached to a bell which each newcomer rings to beg the *Kami* to receive him. The presence of the gods is evoked by clapping of hands, beating of drums, and ringing of bells. All that amuses and entertains mankind is supposed to amuse and entertain the gods. Thus, on their annual feast-day, they are entertained by all sorts of theatrical performances and pantomimes, in addition to offerings of food and drink.

Shinto-worship is kept up by bonzes (priests) or *Kan-nu-shi*. They belong to the Samurai, and do not appear to have been originally a class apart. They marry, do not shave their heads as Buddhist bonzes do, and do not wear any particular vestments during their service in the temple. In some sanctuaries they are accompanied by priestesses specially appointed to dance the celebrated pantomime dance called *Kaguru*, during the temple feasts (*Matsuri*). The best known are the priestesses of the celebrated *Kaguru no Miya*, at Naru, where for hundreds of years the *Kaguru* has been danced with great pomp.

Of all the ritual prayers (*Noritô*) recited as the offertory occurs, the "Prayer of Great Purification" (*Ohoharahi*) is the most solemn. It is intended as a great purification, accompanied by gifts, and is offered in expiation for the following crimes:—"disturbing the rice-harvest, pollution, homicide, wounding, profanation of corpses, sorcery, sodomy, and incest." This prayer shows that the idea of moral purification from sin is not quite unknown in Shinto-worship. In the other ceremonies of purification it is solely a question of cleansing material stains, due to contact with

unclean objects. But even in the *Ohoharahi* the idea of moral expiation is very vague. The faithful Shinto-worshipper is expected to attach far more importance to bodily cleanliness than to purity of heart. Pilgrimages before the annual feast of each temple play a great part in Shinto-worship. The most popular places are national sanctuaries, such as Isê, and holy mountains like Ontakê.

Besides these religious customs, which are common to all, there exist certain special forms of worship only open to the initiated; these are comprised in Esoteric Shinto. Prophecy, ecstasy, possession, and its exorcism are its principal elements. But as Shinto has no definite dogmas or moral code, this occultism only serves to kill whatever religion there is in it. The religious future of Japan may hold yet more transformations, but in such evolutions Shinto can play but a small part. The divine privileges with which national tradition has endowed the Mikado have much diminished since it has been discovered that he is but a mere mortal like the rest of his subjects. As long as the people had not come under foreign influence, and were ruled despotically, never being allowed to see the Mikado, the old myth of his divine origin could be kept up. But with this legend vanished the ancient tradition which was the very religion of Japan. What remained is only, according to Aston, "meat for babes, and quite inadequate as the spiritual food of a nation which in these latter days has reached a full and vigorous manhood."

(*b*) Buddhism

The need for a definite religion was too strong to be satisfied by the national tradition as handed down in Shinto. Until the present time the great mass of the Japanese people have had, practically speaking, no religion but Buddhism. The greater part of the

nation finds a much deeper satisfaction for its religious cravings in Buddhism than in the Shinto-worship of gods and spirits. (*Cf.* Lect. IV., *Buddhism.*)

1. *The Introduction and Development of Buddhism in Japan*

Japan owes the introduction of Buddhism to her Western neighbour, the kingdom of Korea. Japanese history tells us that towards the year 552 after Christ, Buddhist books and pictures were brought to the Mikado Kimmei. The Emperor was disposed to adopt the new religion; but most of his councillors, who clung tenaciously to the native tradition, persuaded him to send the books and pictures out of the palace. It thus happened that a golden statue of Buddha was allowed to be appropriated by a courtier named Soga no Inamé, whose house became the first Buddhist temple. A contagious epidemic, which soon after appeared, was attributed by the followers of the old faith to the worship of strange gods, and the sanctuary was razed to the ground. This act of destruction was followed by so many calamities that permission was given to rebuild the temple. Notwithstanding, Buddhism attracted but few votaries. A quick change in its fortunes came about when Shótoku Taishi became regent under the Emperor Suiko (593–621). He was so zealous a propagandist of the new religion, that later on he was made a Buddhist saint and worshipped with divine honours.

With the advent of Buddhism came the civilization of the Celestial Empire, its constitution, government, jurisdiction, arts, industries, and literature. Thus Buddhism was the channel of civilization for Japan, and during one century the Buddhist priests had a monopoly of intellectual culture. The foreign religion was adopted by the entire Japanese nation,

from the Mikado down to the humblest of his subjects; and it had the strongest possible influence over political, social, intellectual, and literary life. Naru, the old Imperial residence, was the centre of this first period of prosperity. From the Emperor's palace and the mansions of the great, Buddhism spread to the cottages of the poor. Companies of Korean priests travelled all over the country. Quantities of temples and monasteries were built, and religious art, hitherto unknown, made rapid advances. Buddhism introduced into Japan the pagoda form of architecture, sculpture, painting, bronze-casting, and weaving. The monasteries and temples were adorned with the best specimens of these arts and industries, and contributed greatly to their improvement. In addition to fundamental principles of civilization and actual education, the Japanese also owe specially to Buddhism their keen sense of the beauties of nature, and the great perfection of their artistic sense. It was this superiority of Buddhist art and civilization which caused the doctrines of Buddha to be so triumphantly convincing to the minds of rich and poor. The life and teaching of *Shaka* (Buddha Sakyamûni) was soon popularized by pictures, and his worship carried on with a magnificent ritual surpassing anything hitherto known in Japan. The literature of *Mahâyâna* offered the greatest contrast to Shinto, being full of everything calculated to stimulate the mind, feed the imagination, and sustain the religious sense. *Mahâyâna* Buddhism was evolved from a mixture of the old Brahmin religion of India with a mass of speculative and mystical fancies, some very abstruse, borrowed from *Tantrism*, which was then flourishing. The canon of the school of *Mahâyâna* was reproduced in the collection of Chinese translations of *Tripitaka*. This Chinese translation of the original Sanscrit canon became the fountain-head of all religious and moral teaching

for Japan. The fundamental theory was the doctrine of deliverance from recurrent transmigrations of the soul. But this deliverance, or freeing of the soul, did not mean its absorption into nothing, as in the original Buddhism. Nirvâna (which the Japanese call *Nehan*) is understood in a definite sense, and means that the high rank of Buddha was attained by a series of successive victories over the six worlds — hell (*Jigoku*), the animal world (*Chihusho*), the world of unsatiated passions (*Gahi*), the world of brute force (*Shûra*), the world of men (*Jin*), and heaven (*Ten*). The land of happiness, open to Buddha through his high rank, is described as a paradise, peopled with innumerable generations of former Buddhas. This description of heaven made a vivid impression on the popular imagination and mind, and the representations of the gods, as shown in the temples, made the picture, in a sense, appear real to the people. What the old national religion had lacked most had been a code of moral commandments. The gods, themselves a blend of good and evil and liable to all human weaknesses, could not be held up as stern moral lawgivers. Buddhism met this want, and its ethics were further strengthened by the philosophy of Confucius.

2. *The Ethics of Japanese Buddhism*

Japanese Buddhism builds its whole moral law upon the duties of man towards four principal objects: relatives, humanity in general, the sovereign, and religion. A man must respect his parents, obey and support them (materially). His duties towards his fellow-men are summed up in these four words:—

(1) *Fuse* (abstain from selfishness);
(2) *Aigo* (speak kindly);
(3) *Rigyo* (give succour);
(4) *Doji* (be just).

To his sovereign, the subject owes submission and service in everything which concerns the State and the community, in gratitude for benefits received.

The religious obligation is to worship Buddha.

These four principal duties are explained in detail in a table of ten commandments:—

(1) Against killing;
(2) „ theft;
(3) „ adultery;
(4) „ lying;
(5) „ mockery;
(6) „ detraction;
(7) „ calumny;
(8) „ selfishness;
(9) „ anger;
(10) „ evil thoughts.

The observation of this decalogue was the object of six cardinal virtues: mercy, probity, patience, energy, reflection, wisdom.

This moral code is completed by the teaching of Confucius. The moral insignificance of Shinto accounts for the rapid spread of the teaching of Confucius (called by the Japanese *Koshi*), which was imported into China through Korea at the same time as Buddhism. This Chinese philosophy is a practical system of morality and not a religion at all. It may be summed up in the duty of pious respect for parents and loyalty to the Emperor. This political morality was thoroughly acceptable to the *Samurai* or upper class, and was as much in character with the feudal constitutions of Japan as it was with the national tradition of ancestor-worship. Doctrines which centred round the idea of loyalty to the sovereign were bound to be a powerful influence in the minds of the Japanese nobility. And thus Confucius came to be as much venerated in Japan as in China. His maxims were then looked upon

by the *Samurai*, and are to this day, as the gospel of practical wisdom.

They are the foundation of *Samurai* education, and the standard of all *Samurai* conceptions of duty and honour. Their influence, combined with that of Buddhist morality, is still a power in the land. The mass of people take their rules of life from the *Gokai* and *Gorin*. The *Gokai* are the "five principal commandments," against murder, theft, lust, lying, and any alcoholic drink. The *Gorin* are the "five human obligations," between prince and subject, father and son, master and servant, husband and wife, friends, brothers and sisters. (*Cf.* Lect. IV., p. 8.)

3. *The Gods of Japanese Buddhism*

Idol-worship was one of the great means employed by Buddhist propagandists. Primitive Buddhism had excluded it, but as time went on that religion proved more accommodating on this point than any other faith. The efforts of the priests to make themselves understood by the common people resulted in a multitude of new divinities, great and small, peopling the Buddhist Pantheon. Highest of all is enthroned *Amida* (Amitâbha), the deity "brilliant beyond compare," who "succours and saves," and who is represented in Japan by millions of idols of all dimensions. Of these are the three colossal statues of *Kamakoura*, *Nara*, and *Kito*. A well-known and much-beloved deity is *Kwannon*. She is worshipped under different forms, sometimes with several heads, but more often with numberless arms and hands, for which reason she is called *Senju Kwannon Sama*—"The Gracious Goddess of a Thousand Hands." A decorated and railed-off altar is often used without an idol on it. *Kwannon* grants prayers, whether said aloud or written to her. If the suppliant is too far away to be heard, he can write his request on a strip

of paper and make it into a ball, which he spits into the sanctuary. If the pellet sticks, that is a good sign, and the petitioner departs in peace. Many written notes are sent to the goddess in gratitude for favours obtained under different circumstances.

A doctor of a peculiar description, who is often resorted to, is *Binzuru-Sama*. This wooden statue is placed in the usual Oriental attitude before the inevitable alms-box with its perforated lid. When the suppliant has thrown in his copper money, he puts his hands together, and bows down before the idol. Then he places his right hand on the face, ears, knees, and other parts of the statue, and rubs himself on corresponding portions of his own person. Such is the popularity of this practice, that the idol is not only quite shiny from friction, but has lost its long nose and the other prominent parts of its hideous physiognomy.

Among the most famous and favourite idols are the seven gods of happiness. Two are to be found in almost every house: *Daikoku*, the god of wealth, and *Ebisu*, the god of food in general and of fish-markets in particular. The former is often represented with a sack of rice, the latter with a fish under one arm, and under the other a rod with line and hook.

Another group of idols consists of the Liberators, whose principal function (though they have other specific duties) is to preside over the six worlds which are to be distinguished according to the Buddhist doctrine of the migration of souls. On each side of every entrance to a Buddhist temple stand two strange-looking statues carved out of wood. These two nude effigies, some eleven or twelve feet high, are either both painted from head to foot in a vivid red colour, or, occasionally, one red and the other green. They are called *Ni-ô*. The eyes and faces of both are set in a grimace: one figure has a wide open mouth, the other a closed one; one carries

a club in its left hand, the other firmly clenches its left fist. The popular names for them are the green and the red devil. Behind the entrance rise up, on the right, *Kaminari-Sama*, god of thunder, painted red; and on the left, the dark blue figure of *Kaze-No-Kami*, god of wind. Before a second doorway, guarded by armed gods, and known as "The Gateway of the Brave Devils," may be seen the *Yasha*, also painted the one red and the other green. Buddhism, as practised in Japan, freely multiplies its gods. The Japanese Sun-goddess Amaterasu, becomes a Buddha, under the name of Dainichi-Nyorai, and *Hachiman*, god of war, is transformed into a *Bodhisattva*. All kinds of Shinto deities were introduced amongst the five hundred Rakan, or personal disciples of Buddha.

There is one general symbol of female face for all Buddhas alike. They are represented seated upon the open petals of a lotus.

This mixture of Buddhist and Shinto gods was the final triumph of Buddhism. It now remains to describe how different sects sprang up in Japan.

(*c*) Japanese Buddhist Sects

These are divided into two principal categories the schools of the "Holy Way" (*Shodo-mon*) and those of "The Land of Purity" (*Jodo-mon*), their aim being the same, beatitude in Nirvâna. They claim to attain this by belief in three treasures (*sambo*): Buddha, the law, and the community. But they differ in their idea of how to reach their end by faith.

The essence of the "Holy Way" is that the believer shall use his own strength (*jiriki*) to obtain the promised boon. He must practise what are called the three "Wisdoms" (*Sangaku*), *i.e.* the highest virtue, superior knowledge, and absorption in meditation. This "Holy Way" school is again subdivided

into different sects, which vary according to the importance they attach to each of the three "Wisdoms." These sects are named respectively: *Hossô*, *Kegon*, *Tendai*, *Shingon*, *Zen*, and *Nichiren*.

The other school of religious thought, that of "The Land of Purity," is easier.

On the assumption that man, if left to himself, is too weak to reach the final goal, it teaches him to trust in the strength of another (*tariki*). This extrinsic help, which man has only to cling to with full confidence and faith, is offered him by *Amida Buddha*, the original source of all light and life. *Amida Buddha*, the all-merciful deity, refuses his aid to no one who invokes him. Those who believe in him do not rise to his own rank, but after their death they come to life again in his paradise, where, with no further effort, they attain Nirvâna. Hence this sect is called "The Gate of the Land of Purity." Of the others we have mentioned, four are of Indian origin, viz.:—*Hossô*, *Kegon*, *Shingon*, and *Zen*, and one, *Tendai*, arose in China. The rest are all of purely Japanese origin.

The Sect of Hossô

This name is derived from the strict examination of the essence (*so*) of things (*ho*). It follows three stages in the preaching of Buddha. In the first the teacher confines himself to destroying the illusion of the "Ego" (*atman*) or *self* in those who still believe in its reality, in the second he teaches the absolute non-existence of things, and in the third he teaches the full truth in a "Via Media" or Middle Way (*Chudo*). The Hossôites (as we should call them) take this theory from the six *Sutras* attributed to Buddha himself, and from eleven works by subsequent masters, of which the most important is the *Gejin-Mitsukyô* (*Sandhinirmokana-sûtra*). There it is taught that

the two conceptions of the existence and the non-existence of things are unilateral, and consequently false. The three worlds, desire, corporeity (or bodily presence), and immateriality, exist; but they are only real because the mind of man believes them to be so. In other words, this theory is subjective idealism, and it teaches that nothing exists outside the human mind. Thus sorrow and joy, prosperity and ruin, death and life, heaven and hell, are not objective facts, but mere reflections of thought. This truth of the "Middle Way" is to be grasped by sudden intuition, but most believers apprehend it gradually, in proportion as they slowly free themselves from the *Ego*, or self, and the two obstacles which self raises, *i.e.* desire and error. By the "Middle Way" the believer rises to the knowledge and rank of a Buddha. Hossô, which was very flourishing when the Imperial residence was at Nara (709–784), and possessed seven large temples there, is considered of very slight importance nowadays. Still, the teaching is still studied, even by priests of other sects. The principal Hossô temples are Horiuji, the oldest Buddhist temple in the empire, and Kobukuji (also very ancient), at Nara, the former centre of the sect.

Kegon

While Hossô dwells upon three periods in Buddha's teaching, Kegon has five different doctrines.

First comes the *Hinayâna*, or "the little vehicle," for hearers of limited capacity. The second and third degrees are the doctrines of the beginning and end of *Mahâyâna*, "the great vehicle." But the theory upon which Kegon is founded is the doctrine called "perfect," as laid down in *Kegongyo*, *i.e.* the *Avatamsaka-sûtra*, which Buddha is said to have taken as the starting-point of his preaching. This teaches that all is "empty"; but at the same time this

"emptiness," or non-reality, is considered to be the Universal and Absolute (*Bhutatathata*, (Jap.) *Shinnyo*). Thus this sect is a kind of pantheistic realism. Although one of the most ancient forms of belief, it is now of very little importance. Its principal temple is Todaiji, at Nara, which contains a colossal statue of Buddha.

Tendai

This sect takes its name from the holy mountain Tien-tai, in China, where the well-known mother-house is. The Chinese founder was Chikai. The principles of this school are contemplation, and the study of the canon of sacred writings. Its doctrinal system was transplanted to Japan by a prince of Omi, called Saicho, or Dengyo-Daishi. The latter, during his stay in China, had studied the teaching of Chikai on Mount Tien-tai, but he had also familiarized himself with other sects then flourishing in China. He compared them all, and combined the result as a fresh school of religious thought. This blending of different doctrines, all diametrically opposed to each other, into one system, explains how the sect Tendai became the source of nearly all the Japanese Buddhist sects which sprang up afterwards. Tendai philosophy is monistic realism. Its pantheistic system of metaphysics teaches that the foundation of all matter, as well as of thought, is the Absolute, immanent in all transient things; that is, the nature of Buddha. Spirit and substance are two manifestations of one Essence, which is neither, yet is both. In virtue of its inherent energy, which naturally acts on mind and matter equally, this Absolute Essence produces out of itself a whole world of relative phenomena, in which its universal nature is revealed. As this universal Nature, according to the doctrine of Tendai, is none other than the nature of Buddha, all created things, not only human beings and animals, but plants, mountains,

and rivers may become Buddha, and his chief aim was to help all living beings to this union. The real reason of his coming was the preaching of the *Hokkekyo* or *Saddharma-pundarika-sûtra*, which contains the "perfect" doctrine leading quickly and surely to the goal.

Profound meditation is the first condition required for attaining the supreme object: in this meditation the believer realizes his own essential unity with Buddha, and consequently his own divinity. The surest way to reach this "Buddhahood" is the full understanding of the truth that the six roots (otherwise the five organs of sense, and the organ of thought) are identical with the one only and absolute essence or being of Buddha. The Hokkekyo teaches, better than any other doctrine, how to reach this consummation.

Tendai caused a splendid colony of temples to be erected on the mountain of Hieizan, near Kioto, and from thence the sect spread all over Japan. It has since been broken up into three secondary sects, of which the most ancient has its headquarters in the temple of Enriaku on Mount Hieizan, and for principal deity, Buddha, under the form of Yakushi Nyorai (Bhaishajyaguru). The second of these inferior sects still flourishes in the Miidera monastery, on the shores of Lake Biwa, its principal divinity being the Buddha Maitreya. The third is specially devoted to the worship of Amida Nyorai. But Tendai teaches that there are a number of other divine beings, among them many Shinto gods.

Shingon

This sect, said to have been founded by the Hindoo Nagarjuna, was introduced into Japan by Kôbô Daishi, who built a celebrated Shingon temple at Makiyama in Izumi. But the most influential of its centres was the monastic town of Koyasan. This sect recognizes ten degrees of knowledge, which aim

at understanding the mystery of the unity of all shapes and forms of the visible creation in one universal substratum. The comprehension of this unity can only be reached at the tenth or highest degree, when meditation has risen to a mystical state of utter abstraction. Then "Buddhahood" can be reached even on this side of the grave. The principle of every being is the before-mentioned *Bhutatathata*, which occurs in the sect of Tendai, the only difference being that Shingon worships the Absolute under another name, that of the mysterious and spiritual *Buddha Mahâvaicorana.* The Japanese name *Dainichi-Nyorai* means that it is also the principle of illumination. The historic Gotama Buddha himself is but an incarnation of this unique Absolute.

In order to facilitate "the achievement of Buddhahood," it is recommended to assimilate the three mysteries of body, speech, and mind.

This assimilation is accomplished by three mystic rites:

(1) *Shinmitsu*, or the worship of Buddha by certain positions of the hands;

(2) *Gomitsu*, the repetition of certain mystic formulæ of the *Tantra*; and

(3) *Imitsu*, or contemplation.

Prolonged fasting, in order to purify the spiritual eyesight, also plays an important part in Shingon. We can see many points of similarity between this sect and the old Indian Yoga philosophy. The abstruse mysticism of Yoga becomes, in popular practice, a depraved superstition. The bonzes of Mount Koyasan keep up this superstition and work upon the credulity of the common people.

Zen

The founder of this sect was the Hindoo Bodhidharma, called by the Japanese Bodai Daruma. He

is counted as the twenty-eighth Hindoo patriarch and the first Chinese one. The sect, represented in Japan by three branches, had a special influence over the Samurai class, equal to that which the ethics of Confucius exercised later on. The principal characteristic of Zen is the rejection of the doctrine that truth is to be sought in the sacred writings. Zen substitutes meditation for the reading of the holy books; hence the name, which is a translation of the Sanscrit word *Dhyâna* or "contemplation." This contemplation consists in the believer recognizing in his own heart "the true heart of Buddha," the very substance of all thought and being. That is why the sect is also called "Sect of the Heart of Buddha" or *Busshin-Shu.* There are no longer any distinctions between good and evil for the believer, who, absorbed in himself, realizes his unity with Buddha; or, in other words, has arrived at the complete knowledge of the essential purity of human nature when freed from the trammels of this world and adorned with the wisdom of Buddha. In his complete absorption of mind the contemplative enjoys perfect peace. This "quietism" is helped by external practices, especially asceticism. Nor is the study of the Sacred Canon entirely set aside, but such reading is only used as a preparation for, and an incentive to, meditation, until the mind becomes able to see the truth at a glance. This mysticism, which sounds so pure, does not by any means exclude the grossest forms of idol-worship. In the temples of Zen, Buddha sits enthroned with his two chief disciples, Kasha and Anan, or with Maitreya and Amida, as well as Kwannon, under different shapes, and a multitude of lesser deities. This most contemplative of the sects has become richest, too, in temples and idols.

The smaller sects, such as Yuzu-nembutsu and Ji, are scarcely deserving of mention. The three most

popular and powerful sects at the present day are Jôdô, Shin, and Nichiren. These three, unlike those which were introduced from India and China, are of purely Japanese origin. They sprang up during the time when Buddhism was at its most flourishing stage, that is to say, from the twelfth to the thirteenth century.

Jôdô

The founder of this sect was a Japanese priest named *Genku* or *Honen Shonin* (1133–1212), who wished to help his followers to attain a religious ideal. First he turned their eyes from the distant goal of *Nirvâna*. *Jôdô*, "The Land of Purity," replaces it. This last is a paradise, situated in the west, where Amida reigns, who knew no beginning and shall have no end, the real Buddha of the Three Periods and the Six Worlds. This Amida is not identical with Gotama Buddha, the founder of Buddhism. Long before the days of Shaka, he rose to the dignity of a Buddha in a series of holy lives. But instead of at once entering Nirvâna, the goal of all effort, he created the "Land of Purity," and, out of compassion for living beings, made this promise: "I will not attain to perfect wisdom if there be in this world one living being who, after believing in me with all his heart and soul and invoking my name, is not to rise again in Paradise."

The principal doctrine of this sect, therefore, is the profession that whosoever believes in Amida and devoutly invokes him by name is saved, and will reach heaven. He who diligently repeats throughout the whole of his life the formula: "*Namu Amida Butsu*, I put my trust in Buddha Amitâbha," may be certain that at the hour of his death Amida will come to him and raise him to life again in the "Land of Purity." The novelty of this doctrine was, that believers were no more expected to labour strenuously,

straining every power of their mind or body, and pondering innumerable moral precepts, nor to meditate and study the sacred writings. Their religious duties were to consist merely of the perpetual repetition of a single formula. To mark the number of invocations, the faithful used a kind of rosary. The followers of this unexacting sect, which still exists, are to be found among the ignorant classes, especially women. Jôdô was at the height of its popularity during the government of the Tokugawa, as may be seen by the quantity of richly adorned temples which were built at that time at Kioto, Tokyo, and Nikko. These sanctuaries all contained statues of Amida, generally accompanied by Kwannon and the sixteen Rakan. But Jôdô, in common with the other sects, included the worship of the Shinto gods as well.

After the "Land of Purity" came another sect named Shin. This was a "quietist" variant, and has been called the Quaker Buddhism of Japan.

Shin

This Buddhist sect, the most popular and flourishing of any in Japan, is divided into ten branches. It springs from Jôdô; its teaching was handed down by those known as "The Seven High Priests," and also centres round Amida as sovereign of a Western Paradise. But the conditions of entry into this Paradise are different from those of Jôdô. Neither the invocation of Amida's name nor the accomplishment of good works procures beatitude. These are merely "preliminary means" (called in Japanese *hoben*). Men and women can only enter heaven by believing in the All-Merciful, and trusting in the power of his solemn promise to save all creatures. Beatitude is not to be expected only at the hour of death, as Jôdô teaches. He who believes in Amida is sure of his union with the god even in this life. The

invocation of the deity's name is not forbidden, but it only counts as a cry of gratitude coming naturally and spontaneously from the lips of the redeemed, as prayer is but a proof of faith. Penance, fasting, pilgrimages, the monastic life, celibacy, and other ascetic practices are all rejected. Even the distinction between priests and laity is not admitted in theory. The priests or bonzes are not a confraternity set apart by their intense efforts to attain to the dignity of Buddha, but teachers of the laity, dressing as laymen, and marrying after the example of Shinran, their founder. Elaborate sermons and gorgeous ceremonial are the characteristics of this sect beyond all others. Amida's altars, brilliantly decorated, adorn the temples.

The first and biggest Shin sanctuaries are Hongwangi West and Hongwangi East, in Kioto.

Although Amida is worshipped with divine honours, he is not, strictly speaking, a god. He is not without beginning and eternal, since he was not always Buddha; he is not all-powerful, and does not rule the destinies of man. His whole being expresses love and mercy to mankind. Hence Chamberlain writes: "The sect curiously illustrates the fact that a religion may end by becoming almost the exact contrary of what it was at starting. At first sight one would imagine the Shin sect to be a travesty of Christianity rather than a development of Buddhism."

Nichiren

The third principal branch of Buddhism, which is also very popular, is absolutely indigenous to Japan. This is the sect of the "Sun Lotus" (*Nichiren*), or the "Sect of the Flower of the Law" (*hokke*). It aims at pruning away all non-essentials from the worship of Buddha. According to Nichiren, the servants of Amida will go to hell, the disciples of Zen are devils, and Shingon will ruin the State. The soul-saving

formula in Nichiren is, "Worship be given to the *Sûtra* of the marvellous Law of the Lotus Flower!"

No other sect attaches such importance to the *Sûtra*, called "The Lotus Flower of the Holy Law." For hours at a time the faithful repeat to the beating drums: "Worship be to the Sûtra of the marvellous Law of the Lotus Flower!" (In Japanese: "*Namu myo ho renge kyo.*") This book is the revelation of the original Buddha. It is only possible to attain to the state of Buddha by personal effort. But any person or thing willing to make this effort can reach it; even plants and stones are eligible if they pass through a series of transmigrations. He who does not walk in this, the only true way, cannot hope for redemption in Buddha. According to this, Jôdô, with its invocations of Amida, is nothing but delusion. However, it would be difficult to find a sect with more deities and idols than Nichiren; they are borrowed not only from the world of men, but from the animal kingdom. Naturally the founder of the sect has his statues, which stand on the altars as incarnations of Buddha. The great influence of Nichiren, during the first centuries of its existence, is due to the indefatigable zeal of the founder and his immediate successors, and also to the persecutions provoked by their turbulent and revolutionary tactics. This fanatical opposition has not diminished, and is only surpassed by the energy of the latter-day followers of Nichiren, who continue to encourage the superstitions of the people and to make capital out of their ignorance.

This brief summary of the principal sects of Japanese Buddhism is only intended to point out their most salient points of doctrine. Nearly all have split up again into subdivisions. The religious and moral level is generally a very low one, few bonzes knowing the history and dogmas of their own schools. It is a significant fact that the Japanese sects have

never thought it necessary to translate the Buddhist Canon into their own language. They have been quite content to use the Chinese translation of the Tripitaka, which nowadays few Japanese can understand. Their religion consists principally of external formalities, and most Buddhist bonzes do not seek to go beyond these often ridiculous ceremonies. When they are questioned about their worship, they show surprising ignorance. The faithful are taught that by giving one turn to the sacred book-cases, which are arranged so as to revolve round an axis, they acquire the same religious merit as by reading every single volume of the 6711 books therein contained. The common people are still intensely ignorant and superstitious, and quite satisfied with the external magnificence of the ceremonies they see. This brilliant ritual has kept alive to the present day the influence of Japanese Buddhism (in itself a most feeble conception) to such an extent that Buddhism is the real religion of modern Japan. The masses practise the grossest idolatry, accompanied with every form of superstition. It appears equally impossible to reform Buddhism or to revive Shinto. Christianity alone is capable of satisfying the religious aspirations which are still stirring in the breasts of a small section of the Japanese people.

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THEOSOPHY

Edited by

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WE propose to describe in this paper the modern movement known as Theosophical, not only because it challenges our attention owing to its wide and rapid diffusion, and by the number of adepts it ceaselessly draws from the older and established forms of religion, but because in it we can observe the permanence of some of the strangest, as well as the most general, of religious tendencies—such, especially, as manifested themselves when dying paganism made its supreme effort to kill, and itself to draw life from, nascent Christianity. Moreover, the founders of modern Theosophy have without exception connected their doctrines with, and modelled their formulæ upon, ancient and mysterious systems of religious thought, such especially as India has produced. They strive also to link with these the most modern concepts of philosophy or postulates of science—the results, in their religious aspect, of Darwinian evolution, Hegelian idealistic monism, or of Pragmatism, and much more, forming a singularly comprehensive totality of doctrine.

We intend, therefore, according to the plan generally followed in this series, to describe first the history, then the doctrines of modern Theosophy, noting always its historical or philosophical connections with kindred systems.[1]

[1] Since, however, the scope of this series is not controversial, but expository, we are content to refer the reader for a discussion of the

I. The Founders of Theosophy

Though both the word Theosophy, and, in a sense, the thing, are far older (as modern Theosophists are the first to assert, and as we shall see below) than the movement which officially began on 17th November 1875, what is popularly known as Theosophy can never be dissociated from the names of Mme. Blavatsky, of Mrs. Annie Besant, and, in a secondary measure, from that of Col. Henry Streete Olcott.

(i) Helen Petrovna Hahn (1831–1891) was a member of a noble family of South Russia, connected through her mother with the Princes Dolgorouki. She married General Nicephoros Blavatsky, second in command of the Caucasian province Erivan. Her extremely brief married life was stormy; she fled from her husband at the age of seventeen, renounced the life imposed by the ordinary conditions of society, and travelled for a considerable time, especially in the Far East. There we are told (by Mrs. Besant) she became the disciple of a great master of Oriental wisdom, and became fully possessed of that occult lore to the propagation of which her life was henceforward devoted. A first attempt to found a spiritistic society in Egypt failed. She crossed to America, where she met Col. Olcott, who had been an officer in the Northern army. He was an ex-medium and a journalist, and was examining the spiritistic phenomena connected with the brothers Eddy. He came entirely under her influence, though she seems to have had a poor enough opinion of

truth and value of Theosophy to the excellent brochure of E. R. Hull, S. J., editor of the *Bombay Examiner*, entitled *Theosophy and Christianity*, C.T.S., 6d. *Cf.* too L. de Grandmaison, *Le Lotus Bleu*, Paris, Bloud, series *Science et Religion*, 364; O. Zimmermann, "Die neue Theosophie," in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, 1910, x., 387–400, 479–495; R. F. Clarke, "What is Theosophy?" *The Month*, Jan. 1892, p. 1; "The Marvels of Theosophy," *ib.*, Feb., p. 173; "The True Character of Theosophy," *ib.*, March, p. 321; G. Busnelli, *Manuale di Teosofia*, 1, Rome, 1910.

him.[1] He was made, however, first President of the Theosophical Society, founded in New York 17th November 1875, and certainly displayed extraordinary talents for organization and popular propaganda. The infant Society, however, was soon all but wrecked; for though it existed professedly to combat spiritualism equally with materialism, and to propagate belief in the existence of the Eastern lore and sages, it made use of not a few of the methods, and experienced certain of the phenomena, of Spiritualism. H. S. O. and H. P. B. (as it is the curious but convenient custom of Theosophists to designate their founders) went later on to India, where the revelations of 1884–1885 (*infra*, p. 23) were, as was quite frankly admitted, "a tremendous blow."[2] H. P. B. retired into temporary privacy, but retrieved her position and remained the "heart and soul of the Society" till her death, which took place in London, 8th May 1891. This date, known as the White Lotus Day, is observed by social and artistic celebrations.

This extraordinary woman, whose magnificent and scowling features have become famous in three continents, was possessed of startling talents, unlimited audacity, and above all (we surmise) of that personal magnetism so noticeable in all leaders of men. Her great books, *The Secret Doctrine* (3 vols.), *The Key to Philosophy*, *Isis Unveiled*,[3] etc., and her many articles

[1] "Psychologized baby," she calls him, *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, ix.; London, 1885, p. 331.

[2] *Review of Reviews*, iii. 556. In *H. P. B. and the Masters of Wisdom: A Detailed Examination of the Coulomb Affair, and the S.P.R. Report*, Mrs. Besant attempts a "complete defence" of H. P. B., who had been detected, it was generally held, in wholesale "faking" of occult phenomena. *Cf.* too *Isis and the Mahâtmas*, W. Q. Judge, London, 1895 (his defence); and *Isis very much Unveiled*, F. E. Garrett, *ib.*, 1895 (this title is based on Mme. Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled*, first published in 1875, 2 vols., and lately reprinted). *Cf.* App. D.

[3] Obtainable from the Theosophical Publishing Society (T.P.S.), 161 New Bond St., W. They are confessedly in great measure "a mosaic of unacknowledged quotations."

in accredited magazines, carried her influence even where her restless personal activity never reached. Her information was encyclopedic, but altogether confused, inaccurate, and at the mercy of her riotous imagination.

(ii) We draw the following outline of Mrs. Besant's life from her own *Autobiography* (Fisher Unwin, 1893); this shall be our excuse for the singularly intimate character of its details. Born in London on 1st October 1847, she united in herself Irish "other-worldliness" ("three-quarters of my blood and all my heart") with Devonshire common-sense. Her father, apparently once a Catholic, grew to "detest" all positive creed, and partly "rationalized" her mother's "dainty and well-bred piety." Annie Wood was "too religious," "stuff of which fanatics are made." She nearly became a Catholic (p. 24). Angels, fairies, "Roman judges and Dominican inquisitors," Jesus, her "ideal Prince," haunted a childhood narrated with singular affection and sympathy, softening its austere Evangelical setting. Trained to increasing independence, her girlhood yet became intensely ritualist: she studied Keble and the Fathers, fasted, scourged herself; grew mystically enamoured of the Crucifix, though, in the Holy Week of 1866, the "discrepancies" of the Gospel Passion-histories chilled her with a first doubt. In 1867 she "drifts" into marriage with the Rev. F. Besant, who asked a submissiveness she could not give. Personal suffering; quarrels; sickness of her children; the unromantic duties of a home,—all this initiated a "struggle of three years and two months" from which, after facing suicide, she will emerge an "atheist." Her religious doubts increase: she leaves her husband: legal separation will follow: she earns a miserable pittance as a cook, governess, and nurse. Voysey and Stanley replace the Puseyite directors. Now she studies at the British Museum, and writes heterodox pamphlets.

She has abandoned prayer, and "God fades out of the daily life of those who never pray." In 1874 she makes acquaintance with Charles Bradlaugh. The title "atheist" becomes for her the "Order of Merit of the world's heroes": the "Man of Sorrows" is rejected for the "Ideal Man," the "Hercules of Grecian art," the "free man who knows no law." Faith in evolution shows her the "sources of evil and the method of its extinction": strong in this "creed" and "ethical programme," she lives happily from 1874 to 1886, and, "with some misgivings," to 1899. Meanwhile she lectures and writes on social, political, and free-thought topics with that vivacity, force, and personal communication which everywhere won for her enthusiastic devotion, where it did not inflame slander, abuse, prosecution, and even personal attack. She warmly defended Malthusian principles, and was legally deprived of the custody of her daughter, as she had been of her little son's; she "almost went mad." Chapter X. is well entitled "At War All Round." After a stormy transit through socialist propaganda (which involved a tragic break with Bradlaugh, whose political position she now hampered, not helped), the dream of a brotherhood, or "New Church," dawns for her. "Since 1886 there had been slowly growing up a conviction that my philosophy was not sufficient." Psychology, hypnotic experiments, "fact after fact came hurtling in." "Into the darkness shot a ray of light—A. P. Sinnett's *Occult World.*" She experiments with spiritualism: the phenomena are "found to be real." One evening, "a voice that was later to become the holiest sound on earth" bids her take courage, light is near. After a fortnight Mr. Stead offers her "two large volumes" to review: they are H. P. B.'s *Secret Doctrine.* A miracle takes place. She is introduced to Mme. Blavatsky: struggles against her fascination; yields; on 10th May 1889 is admitted as Fellow of

the Theosophical Society. She sees that "science" can answer the *Why?* of nothing, though the *How?* of much. Experience, intuition, alone suffice, and these are hers. Her secularist friends—Bradlaugh soberly, Foote bitterly—denounce her; but the new storms are soon over. Since then she has found "peace" in the absorbing interests of Theosophist propaganda or contemplation. Established at the ancient religious centre, Benares, she was visited, and her romantic seclusion described, by M. P. Loti, in his idealizing romance, *L'Inde sans les Anglais; vers Benarés*, c. vi., 1903. Her warm and frank, impulsive yet loyal character will charm and win many who are far from holding her doctrines; her enthusiasm, versatility, and organizing power will long assure her crowds of devoted followers.

(iii) The "T.S."—The Theosophical Society was, as we have said, founded in New York on 17th November 1875. Its objects are:—

1. To form the nucleus of a Universal Brotherhood of Humanity, without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste, or colour.
2. To promote the study of Aryan and other Eastern literatures, religions, and sciences.[1]
3. To investigate unexplained laws of nature and the psychical powers of man.

The head-quarters are at Adyar, a suburb of Madras. To become a member, all one need do is to give in one's name (the question of subscriptions appears to be variously answered according to time and place) with the intention of studying Oriental literature, though Mrs. Besant declares that the first object alone is obligatory. The Fellows or members may be "attached" (to national branches) or "unattached" (having their diploma from Adyar). They may be of any religion or philosophy they like. At

[1] So *Key*, Appendix, 308. But this curious formula elsewhere, and more reasonably, reads: "To encourage the study of comparative religions, of philosophy and of science."

first, a second group existed termed *esoteric*, definitely accepting the esoteric philosophy, believing in the existence of the "Masters" and in H. P. B. their messenger. In 1890 this "esoteric" group was christened *The Oriental School of Theosophy*; and above both groups exist the "Masters," in their mysterious seclusion in Thibet.

Its tremendous propaganda succeeds best in the East. Buddhists and Brahmins, Parsees more recently and even Islam, have been reached by it. Christian missionaries (*infra*, p. 21, n. 1) have felt its active enmity.[1] Reading clubs, study clubs, groups, centres, "lodges," are units of propaganda. The first International Congress was held in Amsterdam in 1904. *The Theosophist* (international in varying forms), *The Vâhan*, *The Lotus Journal* (for children), *T.P.S. Book Notes*, *Orpheus* (an Art quarterly), are the best-known English publications: we could make a long list (about 50) of foreign bulletins. In Germany (which has some 10 magazines), Dr. Rudolf Steiner is particularly zealous in organizing public conferences and discussions. Mrs. Besant's *Order of Service* (1908) connects the T.S. with social effort.[2]

The T.S. has its motto: *No Religion is Higher than Truth*; and its badge: a serpent with its tail in its mouth makes a circle, within which two intertwined triangles, white and black, enshrine the *crux ansata* (☥), the *ankh* or "life" hieroglyphic of Egypt. In a ring above is seen the Swastika cross 卐.

[1] *Bombay Examiner*, 1903, 222. *Katholische Missionen*, xxxiii., Freiburg, 1904–5, p. 41; P. Suau, *L'Inde Tamoule*, Paris, 1901, p. 113.

[2] We cannot pretend the sections of this immense organization work in perfect harmony. In Germany there are those who say, I am of Lehmann, I of Müller, and I of Schulze. One group wishes to see the movement rationalized; another, moralized; others are "independents." But this was inevitable.

II. The Doctrines of Theosophy

The name *Theosophy* is no modern formation. Ammonius Sakkas, father of Neoplatonism (*cf.* App. B), claimed to have invented it, and since his time it has often been used to describe the doctrine of an *immediate intuition* of the Divine Nature and of all things only in their relation to it.[1] From his time Theosophy has always had its adepts, through the mediæval mystics, like Tauler and Eckhart, through the "illuminist" schools of contemplation, through J. Böhme to Swedenborg. And throughout it has attracted minds (we shall see) possessed by the more unwholesome fascination of magic and the occult: the degenerate Gnostics and Neoplatonists, the Kabbalists, renaissance figures like Cornelius Agrippa and "Paracelsus." Pico della Mirandola was a modernized Neoplatonist. The occultist passion of the Templars and the Masons descend to the Rosicrucians of the nineteenth-century revival, to the "unknown philosopher," L. C. de S. Martin, "Eliphaz Levi" (the ex-Abbé Constant), "Papus" (Dr Encausse), etc. etc.[2] But, through Philonic Alexandrianism and the Gnostics, through isolated figures like Apollonius of Tyana (p. 23, n. 2; App. C), through schools of thought like some sects of Buddhism, the ideal of "contempla-

[1] So Brucker, in his great *Critical History of Philosophy*, vol. iv., part i., p. 645, Leipzig, 1766: The Theosophists, "that strange brood of philosophers," "unite in boasting that they are possessed of a divine and superhuman wisdom." So for Kant (*Works*, iii., 470, Leipzig, 1838; Schelling, *Collected Works*, I. x., 184, Stuttgart, 1861) the essence of Theosophy is the immediate intuition of God and of all things in Him.

[2] The T.P.S. finds it worth while to advertise the works of St. John of the Cross, St. Peter of Alcantara, Juliana of Norwich, SS. Francis of Sales and of Assisi, Michael Molinos, Mme. Guyon, Tolstoy, Walter Hilton; the Imitation; of Anglican thinkers like Dr. Inge, Archdeacon Wilberforce; of liberal scholars like Wrede, A. Meyer; the famous Hibbert volume, *Jesus or Christ?* Its ideal of Christian "mysticism" is comprehensive. For tenth-century Jewish Theosophy, see the admirable article of Dr. C. D. Ginsburg, "Kabbalah," *Enc. Brit.*, 9th ed., xiii., 810*a*–814*a*.

tion" seeks back to the oldest philosophies of Hinduism and the Brahmins.[1]

Of this continuous and comprehensive history modern Theosophy makes its peculiar boast.

For the whole notion of Theosophy is that it is a Divine Science, one and complete, existing from and to eternity, known in its entirety only by a mysterious Confraternity of Masters, handed down from generation to generation of these Masters, and revealed by them to successive centuries in such measure and beneath such symbols as shall seem best suited to the assimilative capacity of each. Thus Theosophy is that Wisdom which is the source of all religions, all philosophies, all science.

[1] Hence Theosophical libraries contain much work on Oriental religions and ethnology that is excellent, and good translations of Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, Plato, Plotinus, and the like. This too is why that distinguished Indian scholar, P. Oltramare, can call his studies of ancient Indian thought *L'Histoire des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde*, I., *La théosophie brahmanique* (Paris, 1907). But he apologizes for the distrust his title cannot but excite, nowadays especially, when "that title [*Theosophy*] is affixed to the strangest wares: an amalgam of mysticism, charlatanism, and thaumaturgic pretensions which have been combined, in the most unlikely fashion, with an almost childish anxiety to apply the method and terminology of science to transcendent matters. India itself could not but be besmirched by the ridicule and disfavour so justly incurred by the curious doctrines of Mme. Blavatsky and Mrs. Besant" (pp. ii, iii). M. Paul Carty competently contrasts (*Études*, cxv., 1908, 774–787) M. Oltramare's work with Mrs. Besant's singularly unscientific study of Indian religions (*Four Great Religions: Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Christianity*; and *The Religious Problem in India: Lectures on Islam, Jainism, Sikhism, and Theosophy*, combined in a French translation, *Les religions pratiquées actuellement dans l'Inde*, 1907). But, unfortunately, she can always appeal to the secret history, the occult tradition which she has received from its Oriental guardians, and, with regard to the origin, development, interrelation, meaning, and value of these cults, announce to her Eastern (and even Western) disciples conclusions at which, she frankly confesses, all normal science scoffs. In this series see especially on *Brahminism*, Lect. IV., 3–5; on *Hinduism*, Lect. V., pp. 6, 11, 27–30; on *Buddhism*, Lect. IV., 7–29, n. b. 11–18; on *Nirvana*, Lect. XXXIV., pp. 13–31, n. b. pp. 18, 21, 27–29; *cf.* IV., 26–28; Lect. III., 26, 27. On *Manicheism*, Lect. XX., 5, 6; on *Gnosticism* and *Neoplatonism*, pp. 28, 29 of this paper. On the peculiar tendencies of decadent paganism, Lect. XI., 28–30; XIV., 8, 18, 20–26, 29; XVI., 21.

Of these Guardians of the Immemorial Doctrine, M. A. Arnould (President of the French branch of the T.S.) writes (in *Les Croyances Fondamentales du Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1895) that "their number is great" (p. 6), that they are "Beings more completely developed or evolved than antecedent or existing humanity. These more advanced Beings have traversed the entire human course, and help their less advanced brethren. All humanity shall one day reach this degree of wisdom and development, like that which Westerns assign to their anthropomorphic God," and then it will be their turn to help others (pp. 15, 16). For while "a few isolated individuals, borne on by a peculiar enthusiasm, a spiritual, moral, and physical hygiene (*infra*, p. 18, n. 2) and persevering toil," achieve the goal before their brothers (p. 46), and alone have evolved that sixth principle, or *Buddhi*, which is as superior to the intellect as the human soul is to the animal (p. 66), yet they can and do put off their entry into Nirvâna for the sake of teaching fragments of their lore to men, and may then be called *Buddhas of Compassion* (p. 49: *cf.* Lect. XXXIV., 27; IV., 26). Since the whole value of Theosophy as a system *imposed by authority* rests upon the character of these Mahâtmas (="great spirits"), it were well to be sure at least of their existence. They live, we are told, in Thibet. H. P. B., A. B., and humbler apostles have been in communication with them, epistolary and otherwise. The "metaphysical necessity" of their existence is proved by "Héra" in the *Lotus Bleu* for September 1904, pp. 193–199. It is postulated by the Law of Cyclic Evolution. The divine germ in man comes from and returns to God, through an uninterrupted series of more or less divine Beings. There cannot, therefore, *but* be Mahâtmas. The Lamas of Thibet have, however, denied their existence (*Month*, lxxiv., 1892, p. 333); Mr. Hodgson (*P.S.P.R.*, ix., 1891, 312) will not admit it either. To those who do not grant its *a priori* necessity, the evidence of the few "eye-witnesses" seems, he argues, valueless: and so is the correspondence by which they, mistakenly enough, reveal their "miserably poor style" and ideas which are "absolute rubbish."[1]

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[1] *Month*, lxxiv., p. 180. H. P. B. (*Key to Theosophy*, 1889, pp. 288–303, 215) rationalizes the Mahâtmas not a little: the T.S., she says, despises the attacks of the S.P.R.—"a flock of stupid old British wethers, who had been led to butt at them by an over-frolicksome lambkin from Australia" (p. 297). The Masters, though they guide and protect, do not inspire the T.S. nor the writings of its leaders (p. 299). So too Mrs. Besant (*Introd. à la Théos.*, tr., Paris, 1903, p. 20): they work for humanity, use the T.S. as an instrument, bless it and help it at a crisis. "They have been called Initiates, Adepts, Magi, Hierophants, Mahâtmas, Elder Brothers, Masters" (*ib.*). But the name

We see then in what sense it can be both affirmed and denied that Theosophy is a religion.

Theosophy is not a religion.

But something of Theosophy can be found under all religious symbols, in all religious dogmas, for the good reason that it is the RELIGION-SCIENCE whence have issued *all* religions and all sciences (A. Arnould, *op. cit.*, p. 5).

To the question "Is Theosophy a religion?" "It is not," answers H. P. B. (*cf. Key to Theosophy*, p. 1). "It is Divine Knowledge or Science." Similarly, "it is the doctrinal exposition of the Truths *demonstrated* by OCCULT SCIENCE" (Arnould, p. 6: we carefully respect italics and capitals).

But a fuller definition will be available when we have examined its doctrine of God, the Universe and Man.

GOD.—"Do you believe in God—the God of the Christians, the Biblical God?" "In such a God we do not believe. We reject the notion of a personal, or an extra-cosmic and anthropomorphic God. The God of theology is a bundle of contradictions. We will have nothing to do with him." "Then you are Atheists?" "Not that we know of. We believe in a Divine Universal Principle, the root of ALL, from which all proceeds, and within which all shall be absorbed at the end of the great cycle of Being. Our DEITY is everywhere, in, over, and around every invisible atom and divisible molecule; for IT is the mysterious power of evolution and involution, the omnipresent, omnipotent, and even omniscient creative potentiality. IT does not (think); because it is *Absolute Thought* itself. Nor does it exist, as it is *Be-ness*, not a Being. Our Deity is the eternal, incessantly evolving, not creating builder of the universe; that

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matters little. Alas that among the initiates we are told to collect Pythagoras, Orpheus, Moses, Christ, St. Paul and St. John, Clement and Origen, Krishna and Buddha, all the high priests of so many different cults, including those of the Temple at Jerusalem, and Alexander the Great (Arnould, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–19), though his was but an inferior grade, and H. P. B. calls him (*Key*, p. 289) a "drunken soldier." It must be remembered, whenever Theosophy contrasts its strictly "rational" system with the "blind faith" of the Christian (*e.g. Key*, 218), that the system still reposes on the testimony of those (for Europeans, almost exclusively H. P. B. and H. S. O.) who say they have been in communication with the Mahâtmas, and have received, understood, and divulgated their doctrine.

universe *itself unfolding* out of its own essence. It is a sphere without circumference—ITSELF." (H. P. B., *Key*, 61–66.).[1]

THE UNIVERSE.—It is clear, however, that this All is not inert. But whether the universe *emanates* from God (as "ray from sun"), or is "immanent" in Him (as "drop in ocean"), or is Himself (as my dream is me), is nowhere definitely exposed. And no wonder, since metaphors confound the clearest thought. Still, it is to *idealistic* Pantheism, as we know it, that Theosophy inclines. There is no creation, but

"periodical and consecutive appearances of the universe from the subjective on to the objective plane of being." This is the "Cycle of Life," the "Days and Nights of Brahma," or the time of *Manvantara* and that of *Pralaya* (dissolution). (This process is) Eternal *reality* casting a periodical reflection of itself on the infinite spatial depths. This reflection "is a temporary illusion, and, as flitting personalities, so are we" (*Key*, pp. 83–85). "In Eternity," M. Arnould reminds us (p. 12), "there is but a single moment, ALWAYS. If, for a single moment, there had been nothing, there would always have been NOTHING. *Before* creation, as *after*, is Eternity! Where seize, where place, the moment of Creation? It exists not! It cannot exist! The periods (of activity and rest) can be compared to the double rhythmic beating of the heart. There is a great rhythmic throbbing in the Infinite, in the UNIQUE ALL, which causes transitory forms to emanate, wherethrough the UNIQUE SPIRIT circulates and develops and reabsorbs them."[2]

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[1] There is here, at the outset, confusion of thought. H. P. B. has not grasped the notion of analogy; she thinks that because "theologians" say God's nature transcends the Cosmos, they exclude it from the Cosmos; that because they own their idea of Him is anthropomorphic, their definition of His nature is: that because they say He has all the perfections of a person, therefore He has all the limitations of personality as we experience it. On human knowledge of the Divine Essence, *cf.* Lect. XX. (St. Augustine), pp. 14, 26; and XXII. (Aquinas), 10–12, 21–27. Mrs. Besant, in a lecture given in London on 1st July 1904, exposed the theosophic mode of Pantheism, as is her wont, in terms far more reverent and sympathetic to English hearers. Yet the theology of Theosophy, she frankly declares, is "Pantheist. God is all, and all is God." (*Cf.* "Theosophy" in *Relig. Systems of the World*, p. 642, London, 1903; and *Why I became a Theosophist*, *ib.*, 1891, p. 18.)

[2] A *Manvantara*, we may add, comprises 360,000,000 years, and, together with a *Pralaya*, composes the 100 billions (and more) years of

Mrs. Besant develops this: The Universe is created by the emanation of the great breath of the Unity. The Logos or Word, leaping from the Silence, is a first Trinity in a triple aspect: the First is a Substance not to be conceived nor imagined; the Second, Spirit in matter, energy in form, etc., at the root of all that is on its way to existence, essence of spirit, essence of matter, still inconceivable by our intelligence. The Third aspect is intelligence, universal consciousness, existence within the limits of the manifested. One Logos pervades the whole, from the highest spirit to the tiniest grain of sand (*Intr.*, p. 21). And in the lecture above quoted she reminds the Bishop of London that Theosophists do indeed believe in the Trinity, inasmuch as Logos is the name they give to the nature of God *as manifest*, a triple Logos, appearing first as "Will, root of existence"; second, as "Divine Wisdom, knowledge inspired by love"; and thirdly, as "Creative Activity, Creator Spirit, immanent in all matter and form."[1]

The world consists of seven interpenetrating planes, the physical, the astral, the mental, the Buddhi, Nirvâna,

a world period, or *Kalpah*. During a *Pralaya* (putting the thing in its Indian form) only Brahmă (neuter) exists—*Sat*, the Unknowable and Absolute. A new *Manvantara* dawns: Brahmā (masc.) awakes. At once He sees, "Nothing exists." Forthwith we have the opposition of Being and Not Being, the Duality, *sat-avidya*. The vision of the "being" that once was recurs to Him—Brahma's own revelation, *Mahât*, the third "logos." The Trinity, *Sat*, *Sat-avidya*, *Mahât*, is complete. The out- and in-breathings of Brahma then make and reabsorb the Universe. Zimmermann, *op. cit.*, p. 391; *cf.* J. C. Chatterji, *Der Pfad der Vervollkommnung*, Leipzig, p. 14.

[1] Below this purer form of divine activity comes a hierarchy of lesser spirits, the "gods" of Hindu, Chaldean, and Egyptian religions; the Archangels of the Christians; the Lords, *Planetary Spirits*, of "esoteric philosophy"; for they preside over the evolution of worlds, construct universes, direct cosmic forces. Lesser gods, "angels," Elementals (of a lofty kind) steer the forces of Nature on a lower plane, till we reach those baser sprites that occult lore and magic can control. The Roman Church has forgotten less than the others of the stored science, on these points, of Christian Fathers and their contemporaries (*ib.*, p. 21 *sqq.*, etc.). *Cf.* Appendices, and p. 24, n. 2.

Parinirvâna and Mahâparinirvâna planes (those, that is, of Enlightenment, of Nirvâna, of full, of great-full Nirvâna. Each has its special dimension, time, consciousness, inhabitants. To the first belong minerals and plants; to the astral, animals and most men, who are in time, however, to achieve the seventh. "Spirit" is for the Theosophist, however, only the purer manifestation of That of which "matter" is the grosser.[1]

[1] Into the fantastic history of this evolving and involving world we really cannot go. It rises in a septuple spiral, mankind passing through seven cycles corresponding to the planets. Earth-men are on the 4th; from Venus 18 million years ago ants and bees, etc., reached us. Each cycle contains seven races, destined to evolve into man. In the lost continent of Lemuria lived our third race, where reason first dawned. In Atlantis, now sunk beneath the ocean, lived the fourth race, some 70,000 years after the collapse of Lemuria; it had a high culture and knew about aviation. The Atlanteans, who perished some 850,000 years ago, were giants, also dwarfs; its members were brown, red, yellow, white, or black. It is from them that we Aryans have inherited their precious knowledge of the hidden virtues of gems, etc., of chemistry, or rather of "alchemy, mineralogy, geology, physics, and astronomy" (H. P. B., *Secret Doctrine*). H. P. B. pitilessly scoffs at palæontologists who deny these things; and H. S. O., in *Theosophy, Religion, and Occult Science*, 72, at the "abysmal ignorance" of Western science, formed in the school of "Mill, Darwin, Tyndall, Schlegel, and Burnouf." Yet Mrs. Besant (*Introd.*, p. 16) finds the true successors of the Sages (whom Plato and Pythagoras drew from) in Giordano Bruno, the "second Pythagoras"; in Fichte, Kant, and Schopenhauer; Emerson, Berkeley; Böhme, Fludd, and Swedenborg. However, the development of the 5th Aryan race, of which we are, began 1,000,000 years ago, and in Europe is, from a religious, philosophic, philanthropic point of view, in a *cul-de-sac*. Better things, indeed, may be hoped in America. The 6th root-race of our cycle, as Leadbeater has "established," is due about 700 years hence. See C. W. Leadbeater, *The Astral Plane: Its Scenery, Inhabitants, and Phenomena. The Devachanic Plane or Heaven-World. An Outline of Theosophy*; A. P. Sinnett, *Esoteric Buddhism. The Occult World;* J. Donelly, *Atlantis, the Antediluvian World.* The Canaries and Azores are the highest peaks of Atlantis: Lemuria stretched from Mozambique to Australia. Leadbeater knows the very diet of the 6th root-race—it will largely consist of a sort of *blanc-mange* (surely a depressing prospect, though its colour and taste will vary). Food is partaken of in gardens; there are no chairs, but marble depressions in the soil; the plates too are marble, and the whole is flooded after each repast (*cf.* Zimmermann, *l.c.*, p. 393, n. 1). See too W. Scott Elliot, *The Lost Lemuria* (with maps); *The Story of Atlantis* (four maps). M. Saunier, *Légende d. symboles philosophiques, religieux et maçonniques*, Paris, 1911.

MAN.—Man, the Microcosm, is himself septuple, four parts composing the physical, three the spiritual, man. The following is H. P. B.'s chart (*Key*, p. 91):—

(*a*) *Rupa*, or *Sthula Sharira.*	(*a*) Physical body.
(*b*) *Prana.*	(*b*) Life, or Vital Principle.
(*c*) *Linga Sharira.*	(*c*) Astral body.
(*d*) *Kama rupa.*	(*d*) The seat of animal desires and passions.
2. *Manas*—a dual principle in its functions.	2. Mind, intelligence, the higher human mind, whose light or radiation links the MONAD, for the lifetime, to the mortal man.
(*f*) *Buddhi.*	(*f*) The Spiritual Soul.
(*g*) *Atma.*	(*g*) Spirit.

The first four "principles" compose a man's Personality, the last three his Individuality. The *Atma*, H. P. B. says, is "one with the Absolute"; Sinnett, that it is matter like the rest, only very subtle. Arnould (who describes all this pp. 63-67) prudently exclaims, "*Quant au septième principe, Atmâ, n'en parlons pas.*" At death, the first four principles, or rather "states of consciousness," evanesce: the one *real* man, immortal in essence, if not in form, *Manas*, embodied consciousness (*Key*, p. 100), "God fallen into matter" (A. B., *Introd.*, p. 27), alone will subsist.

All human evolution is the effort of "this God" to reascend to its proper plane, taking with it (for by purification this is possible) as much of its personality as it can redeem. But since this ascent is impossible in the space of one "life," reincarnations are necessary, the *Manas* plunging into matter, God being manifest in flesh, only to return to the *Devachan* or heaven-plane where, during a disincarnate existence of (on an average) 1500 years,[1] it assimilates experiences

[1] On this *cf. Key*, section ix., 143-171; but also 88-97, 123-137. R. Steiner, quoted by Zimmermann, p. 395, n. 1, says incarnation usually takes place twice in 2100 years, once in male, once in female form.

achieved, concludes thought-processes begun, gathers up into its *simple* self the results of its *double* selfhood when incarnate. The *Devachan* plane is happy, rich, and conscious, but is still the domain of illusion, and even this is not reached at once.

KARMA.—The nature of this *Devachan* is rigorously determined for each by the law of *Karma.* This means, in brief, the absolutely determinist succession of cause and effect throughout the entire world-process and the whole history of man's soul. "The guilty must suffer," said Æschylus. And "as a man soweth, so shall he reap."

It is the universal law of retributive justice; it represents Ultimate Deity, and can, therefore, have neither wrath nor mercy, only absolute Equity, which leaves every cause, great or small, to work out its inevitable effects; the *Ultimate Law* of the Universe. All great social evils, distinction of classes; and of the sexes; the unequal distribution of capital and of labour,—all are due to Karma. Hence a *national* or *social* Karma grows out of the aggregate of individual Karmas (*Key*, 198–215).

In consequence, there is no room for regret, hope, repentance, atonement, prayer.

It can neither be propitiated, nor turned aside by prayer. We do not believe in vicarious atonement, nor in the possibility of the remission of the smallest sin by any god. What we believe in, is strict and impartial justice. [This is the sense in which Karma is "Relative and Distributive," a law of readjustment giving back Harmony (which is synonymous with Good) to the world.] There is no repentance (here we resume H. P. B.'s quotations from standard works): no "casting our sins at the foot of the Cross." "There is no destiny but what we ourselves determine; no salvation or condemnation except what we ourselves bring about." Weak natures may accept the "easy truth of vicarious atonement, intercession, forgiveness" (*Key, ib.*).

"Do you ever pray?" "We do not, we *act.*" "Pray!" (Buddhists would exclaim) "to whom, or to what?" (yet they are confessedly far more virtuous than Christians (*Key*, 66–74).[1]

[1] Yet H. P. B. believes in "will-prayer," an "internal command" to "Our Father in heaven" in its esoteric meaning, *i.e.* in man himself, for man is "God," and not *a* God. The inner man is the only God we can have cognizance of . . . a deific essence. It does not listen to, nor is

It must be confessed that this doctrine has to be singularly modified in view of the irreducible human conviction that man has free-will; can modify, by deliberate acts, the cause and effect series of his life: that is, that he can lift himself above, or let himself sink below, the downward or upward tendency which (in mechanical logic) can alone result from that sum-total of his bad, or good, actions in the past, which is *Karma*. Mrs. Besant, in the lecture quoted above, actually finds room for the Christian dogma of Redemption, at least in the "Broad Church" sense, which is not the "juridical concept" of Anselm (*cf.* Lect. XX., 29) (in which Christ is substituted for the sinner), still less the (falsely so-called) Early Christian notion (Christ is a ransom for man to Satan, *ib.*, 30), but an "at-one-ment" made between man and God in the revelation of Love shown in the person of Jesus. Frederick Denison Maurice, F. W. Robertson of Brighton, are here her patrons; Mr. R. J. Campbell would have been, had she spoken in the days of the New Theology. Christ has Divinity within Himself: so have we, but weakened, dormant. By contact with Him, it awakes, unites itself with Him; our spirit

distinct from, either finite man or the infinite essence—for all are one. (Thus this *will-power* is a sheer force bringing about physical results. All "petition prayer" kills self-reliance; *ib.*) It will be remembered that this doctrine is romantically put in Sir E. Arnold's *Light of Asia*, and more morosely in the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyam. Mrs. Besant characteristically softens this doctrine for English ears, though confessing that the advancing Theosophist passes naturally from petition to contemplation; angels or inferior powers may grant our baser requests: every heart-beat in man has its necessary repercussion in God; but the more perfectly spiritual the human effort, the deeper into the divine All does it reach, the more immediately (in human or Christian language) into God's heart. The league of the *Golden Chain* for children of seven years and upwards, exhorts children on rising to recite, and take as motto for the day, the formula, "I am a link in the Golden Chain of Love, which extends over the whole world. (I will try to think, speak, and do, thoughts, words, and actions, clean and fair.) May every link in the Golden Chain be bright and strong." Children have for them *First Steps in Theosophy* (by E. M. Mallet): *A Golden Afternoon: The Golden Stairs, and Other Songs*, etc. *Cf. infra*, p. 18, n. 2.

becomes His—Him—that is, God. Thus His own prayer is accomplished, and we and He and the Father are one.[1]

But in general this question is linked up with the whole of Theosophic Ethic and Asceticism.

MORALITY.—This, naturally, may be *self-regarding* or *social*, and the latter aspect is emphasized in Theosophy, where in a physical sense one life circulates through the whole universe; nay, our universal brotherhood is not still to be achieved, nor perfected, still less is a metaphor, but is a substantial fact. Directly the fleeting elements of the lower man are recognized as such, and when he sees that the body is but a "sheath" to the "inner, truer man," the true Theosophist will not macerate, cut, or burn the body, but "de-animalize" it by abstinence as far as possible from food, at any rate from meat. But there are no "hard-and-fast obligations": even wine and spirits—"only less destructive than the habitual use of hashish, opium, and other drugs"—are not absolutely forbidden. Similarly marriage will, by those who aim at the highest goal, be abandoned, for the plain reason that "no man can serve two masters"; it is impossible for him to "divide his attention between the pursuit of occultism and a wife" (*Key*, 258, 263).

Needless to say, this is but "exoteric" reasoning. The Enlightened see that but one Soul exists in the evolving All, and will not dream of sacrificing the life of the meanest of their brethren, beast or fowl or fish.[2]

[1] This version is a frank concesssion to English prejudice. *Cf. infra*, pp. 21, n. 1; 24, and *supra*, pp. 12, n. 1; 13.

[2] Anna Kingsford writes *The Perfect Way in Diet*; Mrs. Besant, *Against Vivisection*; *The Influence of Alcohol*; H. Reinheimer, *Nutrition and Evolution*; nor is Mr. Eustace Miles's name absent. The *Yoga* discipline (the lower *nathayoga*, and the royal *rājayoga*) educates a man to that full detachment which takes him quicker out of the wheel of re-births. Special attitudes of neck and back, that the vital currents may circulate properly, are advised; concentration of the thought upon the solar plexus, or on a pleasing and simple form such as a lotus or

But the essence of Theosophic Ethic is Altruism, though in a sense this is a misnomer, since ultimately we all are One. The only evil is Individualism; the supreme good, all that makes for Unity. Really, "I am you, and you I" (Arnould, p. 39); we are distinguished only as drops in the ocean, as a ray broken in a prism. Hence, tolerance, sympathy, forgiveness, social effort are essentials to the Theosophic life; hence the supreme sacrifice of those made perfect, who put off their reward for the sake of suffering, backward humanity (see *Key*, 263–271); freedom and unselfishness are the ideal of education.

It is in this way alone that we ultimately achieve Nirvâna. As the Theosophist treatment of this notion adds nothing to that of the Buddhists, and detracts in no way from its inherent difficulties, we are content to refer the reader to the passages already indicated, in Lect. IV. We must in loyalty remind ourselves that any interpretation of Nirvâna which makes of it *annihilation* is repudiated by Theosophists. Paradise and Hell, or future rewards and punishments (in the "orthodox" sense, and especially their "eternity") "we reject absolutely." "Nothing that is finite can remain stationary": and that which begins—*e.g.* our after-life—is *finite*; therefore it changes: Spirit can never be reduced to nonentity,

tulip; regular in- and out-breathings (E. A. Fletcher writes *The Law of the Rhythmic Breath*); the solemn pronunciation of the mystic syllable ÔM,—all this makes for progressive spiritualization, till a man becomes a disciple (*chela*), fit for the special attention of a Master (*gurû*). See A. Besant: *The Self and its Sheath: The Path of Discipleship: In the Outer Court.* I translate the following prayer inserted in the October number of the (German) *Theosophie*, Leipzig, 1910, at p. 290. (At each inspiration the *first* verse is meditated; at the expiration, the second):

"I breathe the breath of Life: I send love to all mankind. I breathe the life-dispensing ether: I send forth thoughts of life for all mankind. I breathe the eternal movement of the divine life: I send wishes for health for all mankind. I breathe the universal Life Spirit, full of strength: And deny all weakness of Life and of the soul." And so on, ending, for *Amen*, "So breathes every man that is born of God."

though the "personality" may perish, "disintegrated into its particles." The *soul* relapses: the Spirit—in man and in all else—*is* "Be-ness," one, eternal (*Key*, 109-116). We do not remember our previous incarnations, for the Ego is furnished in each with a *new* body, brain, and memory—a "clean shirt" on which it were idle to look for blood-spots, though the murderer may wear it. "The spiritual Ego can act only where the personal Ego is paralysed"; only "in trance" can servant girls and farm hands "speak Hebrew and play the violin" (*ib.*, 127–142). No; after death, the "astral *eidolons*" of the lower Quaternity "await their *second death*" in *Kama-loka*. The *Kama-rupa* phantom, thus bereft of the divine and thinking principles, unconscious, thoughtless, can be magnetized towards a "medium," can actually take form within his Aura (outside which it must dissolve and vanish, like jelly-fish outside water), can "live a kind of vicarious life, through the medium's brain." Hence not even the miscalled "spirits" that return, prove "memory" in the Departed. Though in the *Devachan* plane (*supra*, p. 15) the Ego has "*unalloyed* happiness, surrounded by everything it had aspired to in vain, and in the companionship of everyone it loved on earth," this is but the supreme illusion, *Maya*, the "ideal efflorescence of all the abstract, therefore undying and eternal qualities—love and mercy, the love of the good, the true, the beautiful," that it had absorbed by experience before death. The Devachanic Ego is but the "ideal reflection" of its old best self. But in Nirvâna there is not even this (*ib.*, 143–171).

III. Theosophy and other Religions

We have already seen (p. 11) that Theosophy offers itself, not as a new religion, but as that supremely ancient, profound, and universal Knowledge which is

at the root of all religions. Its "colour" is, however, so strongly Oriental, that it has constantly been confused with *Buddhism*. Against this it protests. "Buddhism," says Arnould (p. 5), "is but one of many 'symbol religions' which divide the world between them." Theosophists are no more *Buddhists* "than all musicians are followers of Wagner" (*Key*, p. 12). But Theosophists may be called *Budhists*—Wisdom-ists—since Buddha, like Christ, taught an esoteric doctrine, which they hold. Even the "dead letter" of Southern Buddhism is, however, far grander and more noble, philosophical and scientific, than that of every other Church or religion (*ib.*, 12–15).[1]

Still less is Theosophy sheer spiritism, though

[1] But, with that adaptability which has marked the T.S. since the advent of Mrs. Besant, in Ceylon, for instance, Theosophy is profoundly Buddhized. *Cf.* her *Buddhist Popular Lectures*, delivered there in 1907. In Ceylon Buddhist propaganda has been remarkable. In 1845 Buddhism had not a single school there. But Col. Olcott (who, by the way, in a previous incarnation was King Asoka, *cf.* Lect. IV., p. 24), preached temperance there, decrying Catholic schools, persuading the natives to give money they saved on drink to Buddhist schools. Of these in 1910 there were 445, of which 206 were Theosophical. There were 436 Catholic schools, and 891 Protestant, apportioned between 8 sects. Col. Olcott's campaign is criticised in C. F. Gordon Cumming's *Two Happy Years in Ceylon*, ii. 413–419. In India, however, the "colour" is Brahmanic. With Mrs. Besant's help the Central Hindu College at Benares was founded (*cf.* the lectures given there, *Hindu Ideals*). It imparts a complete modern and English education (intellectual and physical), often under English certificated masters and mistresses. But the religion and philosophy is pure Brahminism. Powerfully supported, widely imitated, its resistance to Christianity is not only negative. Mrs. Besant, alarmed at Brahmin conversions at St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, was making a tour in the south. "She was received at Madras like a goddess; the prime minister of the Rajah of Mysore had prostrated himself before her as before the incarnation of the goddess Sarasvati, the goddess of science, wife of Brahma. At Trichinopoly a crowd of Hindu devotees awaited her at the station. She was escorted to the National High School, opposite the enemy's citadel, St. Joseph's College. She delivered lecture upon lecture. On her return home, she continued her pamphlet-campaign. She explained conversions by the basest motives, called Jesus Christ an incarnation of Vishnu, and in general fought explicitly and with energy the growing influence of the missionaries." (A. Brou, *Bulletin des Missions: Études*, cxxiv., 1910, 261–265.)

"spiritualist phenomena, being indubitable and scientifically verified (when not just simulated by charlatans), must be reduced to one of the inferior sections of Occult Science" (Arnould, *ib.*). Occult sciences, H. P. B. insists, do exist, and are most dangerous (*Key*, p. 26); the reason being, that persons possessed of a *certain amount* of control over higher forces use these awry, because for selfish ends. Spiritist phenomena, but not the spiritist explanations, can be accepted: their theories are "crude," their "bigotry is blind" (*ib.*, 25–32); in fact, H. P. B. violently attacks the "hatred" of the Spiritualists, and the "famous and infamous attack on the T.S. by the S.P.R." (p. 273). "Every kind of slander, uncharitable personal remarks, and absurd misrepresentations," express their "violent hatred," in America, then England, then France (274–275).[1]

Here we should perhaps insert a brief note on the marvels of Theosophy. The facts are disputed, and we do not pretend to decide on the character, or even the reality, of the phenomena. Fr. Clarke[2] concedes to them a considerable measure of objectivity. Mrs. Besant, indeed, became a Theosophist largely on their occasion.[3] H. S. O. broke with the mediums because he saw their phenomena equalled and surpassed, at will, and in broad daylight, by H. P. B. and Eastern adepts. Roses fall from

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[1] Yet it is deplorable how linked Theosophy seems inevitably to be with the lowest follies of Occultism. *Cf. Occult Chemistry*, by A. B. and C. W. Leadbeater; *Thought Forms* (with coloured pictures of forms clairvoyantly seen and "vibratory" figures), by the same; J. Bertrand, *Occultisme Ancien et Moderne*, Bloud, 1900, and the extremely rich documentation of *L'Occultisme Contemporain*, C. Godard, *ib.* "Alan Leo" writes *Astrology for All, How to Judge a Nativity, The Horoscope in Detail*, etc., etc., and offers a "carefully delineated horoscope for 5s." The Kabbalah is an inexhaustible topic for Theosophist writers, and it is melancholy to judge of the confusion of thought implied by the trash that figures, in their bulletins and advertisements, alongside of works under distinguished names—Edwin Arnold, A. Lang, F. W. H. Myers, William James. W. E. Waite is one of the most prolific writers in this department.

[2] *Month*, 1892, Feb., pp. 173, 391.

[3] *Why I became a Theosophist*, 20–21, etc.

heaven; letters from distant countries appear in cushions, flutter from the ceiling; writings appear on slates, or the wall; paintings emerge, without intervention of hand or brush; music resounds without musician; persons disappear or are materialized; a jet-black hair is cut from among blonde tresses.[1] We cannot disguise from ourselves the fact that the "marvels" have been ever less emphasized: that they are not the *essentials* of Theosophy has always been conceded. The writings of H. P. B. are, in Mrs. Besant's eyes, the most marvellous of the "phenomena"; or the conversion of A. P. Sinnett. To others, it is Mrs. Besant's own conversion that is the miracle *par excellence*. But we must be allowed to refer to the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* (vol. iii., parts viii., ix.; 1885, pp. 201–400) for the famous dispute upon the alleged deceits, forgeries, and trickeries of Mme. Blavatsky, which, it seems clear, undoubtedly descend to a very low level of imposture. *Cf.* App. D.

Mme. Blavatsky, we saw, speaks roughly of Christianity. Col. Olcott speaks of it as morally corrupt and spiritually paralysed. M. Arnould considers it to have narrowed and materialized Buddhism (p. 20).[2] Any favour shown to Christianity is based on its *esoteric doctrine*, of which creed and cult are mere

[1] *Cf. op. cit.*, 46–48, 122–125, especially 251; and his very interesting *Old Diary Leaves*, especially third series; and A. P. Sinnett's *Occult World*.

[2] To make up, H. P. B. in her Glossary proves the reality of the miracles of Apollonius of Tyana by a passage from St. Justin. But not only is the passage *falsely attributed* to Justin (Otto, *Opera Iustini*, iii. 2), but even in its setting it is an *objection*, which the supposed Justin refutes! Mrs. Besant reproduces it as decisive in *Theosophy and its Evidences*, p. 16. Since A. of T. (*cf.* Lect. XIV. 21) is so often mentioned by modern Theosophists as a Master, on a par with Christ, we may mention that he died very old, c. 95 A.D., but the first written life we have of him is by Philostratus, not before 200 A.D. It is based on hearsay or untrustworthy documents, is highly rhetorical, and wholly unscientific. Little can be deduced with certainty from it. It is Mr. G. R. S. Mead who is most prolific upon the early semi-Christian movements, some of which we mention in Appendices. *Cf.* his *Apollonius of Tyana; Plotinus; Thrice-Greatest Hermes* (Hellenistic Gnosis); *Echoes from the Gnosis; The World Mystery*). Philostratus (whom Kayser calls a "Parisian *feuilletoniste*") causes to J. Réville (*Relig. à Rome s. l. Sévères*, 1886, ii. 225) a "genuine exasperation" as he reads those pages "d'une nullité et d'une platitude désolantes." Not that A. is wholly despicable by any means. But to offer him as a choice specimen of any system is suicidal.

symbols.[1] We have seen Mrs. Besant trace the Trinity and Redemption in Theosophy (pp. 13, 17). Christ too she will honour, because "in all the religions of the world" the Second Person of that Trinity incarnates Himself and reveals Himself as man.

If by "Christ" you mean a Divine Man, then He is not unique [alas, are we not all Christs, more or less?]; if you mean the Second Logos, ah, then, adore Him with all your soul, but remember, your worship reaches Him whom the Hindu names, and rightly, *Vishnu*. And thus Theosophy "widens our horizons," and offers us other Great Masters than the One believed in, and we see written an *Imitation of Buddha*, and of *Krishna*. Only the name varies, Mithra, Krishna, Bacchus, Osiris, Christ; the divine story is the same in all religions. Confess, above all, communicate, Mrs. Besant tells the Catholic "disciple." "Hear Mass," says A. L. B. Hardcastle (*Rev. Théos.*, Sept. 1904, 199–205), and explains the "real"—yet quite un-Catholic—meaning of its ritual.[2]

But, travelling deeper, we find out that the Roman Church considers Christ (as do the Gnostics) as the chief of the Æons (H. P. B.), and that in any case Christ is triple—the *mystic* Christ (symbol of the developed esoteric initiate), the *mythical* (the sun-god under all his names), and the *historical*.[3] The historical Christ, born 105 "B.C.," was taught Hebrew by his parents, became an Essene monk at 12, entered at 19 the monastery of Mount Serbal, where he found a superb library of occultist books, many

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[1] *Cf.* Appendix A.

[2] Only we wish he could get it right. The altar-candles are not lighted after the priest has read, on his knees, a secret confession. We do not, by blessing salt and water and incense, attribute to them "a sort of conscious life": the "solid marble or wrought metal of the altar-rails" is not a "diamond barrier" between exoterist and esoterist. Christ does not leave His "Nirvanic consciousness" for the prison of the ciborium; nor will we listen to Mr. Currie (*Theos. Rev.*, Aug. 1904) explaining the esoteric *Pater Noster*. See especially W. Kingsland, *The Esoteric Basis of Christianity*; C. W. Leadbeater, the *Christian Creed*; A. Besant, *Esoteric Christianity, or the Lesser Mysteries*, London, 1901; R. Steiner, *Le mystère chrétien et les mystères antiques*, tr. Schuré, Paris, 1908.

[3] Mrs. Besant, *Esoteric Christianity*, 1901.

of them from Trans-Himalayan India. He retires to Egypt, enters the esoteric "lodge" which gives to all great religions their founder. At 29 he is fit to receive, and become instrument of, a powerful Son of God, a Buddha of Compassion. In the form of the man Jesus, this Being moves about, preaches, cures, is rejected. The human body suffers the penalty for its services rendered to its superhuman occupant. For more than 50 years, in his astral body he visits his disciples, and instructs them in esoteric lore. About 35 B.C. they sally forth to preach. Myth crystallizes round the historic nucleus. Jesus is virgin born; crucified; ascends.—In this way it is hoped that the historical reality of Jesus will be saved from the confusions of the Gospels, and his spiritual grandeur made only the more evident.[1] But many a Magdalen, we fear, will find her Lord to have been "taken away," and in his place only the deplorable puppet of Gnostic and Buddhist apocrypha.

CONCLUSION.—Briefly to sum up. Theosophy witnesses to some of the profoundest instincts, and the highest aspirations of Godward-bound humanity, and stresses some of the most far-reaching truths revealed in or governing it. The omnipresence of the divine; the lofty destiny of the soul; the essential brotherhood of man; the character-forming potency of thought; the constant perception of spiritual reality; the resolute effort to penetrate below surface and the letter, —all that is noble and should prove ennobling. Also the determination to detect God's spirit acting everywhere; to hear the divine call in the stammered words of the humblest of the prophets; to admire the beauties even of the least fair of the world's religions,—that too seeks our sympathy. Yet we cannot but observe—even as recorders of historically known phenomena, constantly and ubiquitously recurrent—that these high and precious forms are kept stretched on the rack of an impossible philosophy, are muffled beneath the most grotesque display of pseudo-erudition, are in danger of complete dissolution in an air of treacherous sentimentalism. We are, of course, open to the taunt of being Westerns: our

[1] *Cf.* G. R. S. Mead, *Did Jesus Live 100 B.C.?*

minds are gross: we lack the vital intuition: we reject the supreme Authority of the Masters. Well, to a Western consciousness there cannot but here reveal itself an impossible metaphysic; a psychology unverified; a fairy-tale cosmology; an unstable ethic, with its sanctions nullified, its categories ill-defined. We see a law of Karma in manifold wise self-contradictory, stultifying effort; a theology that "depersonalizes" God without rendering Him the more sublime; which drags Him down to matter without making Him more lovable; that exalts man to the divine in despite of all his conscience tells him of his low estate. We see the effort to retain, yet rationalize, the notion of that Divine Union which Christianity promises, asserting it a mystery. Finally, we see a chaotic mass of "evidence," unsifted, unevaluated, unorganized by a too slipshod thought and an uneducated judgement, rendering history unintelligible, and in it the figure of Jesus of Nazareth as tragic as absurd. In the leaders of this movement we see splendid energies, outstanding talents, warmth of sympathy passionate in its tenderness as in its indignations, and at times a genuine touch of mystical thought and expression. Yet we must say of them too what Réville says of those third-century reformers with whom they are so glad to be linked: "Why must it be that at the very moment they seem about to carry us to the sublimities of the ideal religion —they fail us?" Like their "Master," Orpheus, *victus animi*, they look back, and the vision fades and the voice stammers; perforce we turn—to whom else should we go?—to Him who has the words of eternal life.

APPENDIX A.—There has never been an *esoteric Christianity*. The simplest Christian has always had the right to Christ's full doctrine. "I have spoken openly to the world: I always taught in the synagogue where all the Jews come together, and in secret I spoke nothing" (John xviii. 20, the interview with Nicodemus,

and John xvi. 12, 25, are not against this). Pagan mysteries (*cf.* Lect. XI. 21–24; XIV. 11; XVI. 16–19; also art. "Paganism" in *Cath. Encycl.*) exacted an oath of secrecy from Initiates; but even they imparted, not special *doctrines*, but magical *formulæ* and an emotional *impression* that the adept was elect, blessed for this life and the next. Pliny, c. 112 A.D., tortured Christians to find out their religion. There were many apostates, but none had secrets to reveal (Pliny, *Ep.*, x. 97). Converts from paganism reveal their secrets readily. Clement and Tertullian, who relate them, ridicule and loathe them. Clement adopts the phraseology of the mysteries (so even Paul, Rom. xi. 25, 1 Cor. ii. 7, etc.), but puts the Christian's initiation in heaven. Tertullian notes that Paul celebrates the Eucharist among pagans on board ship! Justin relates the whole Christian cult and creed, addressing "the Emperor, his sons, the senate, the whole people." Irenæus shows that had the Apostles preached a secret lore—as heretics (*e.g.* the Gnostics), to defend their own practice, said they had—the Bishops (depositaries of the "tradition") would have known it: but they wholly ignore it. When the Church developed and conversions became frequent, profitable, or fashionable, careful and gradual instruction was of course insisted on: the catechumenate became more organized. In *public preaching*, especially before *mixed audiences*, reverence suggested reticence: and this (curiously) becomes quite common from c. 350 onwards, a sentiment, almost an affectation (*never a law*), leading preachers not to mention what everyone quite well knew, *e.g.* (Chrysostom) the Lord's Prayer; (Sozomen) the Nicene Creed! Basil is (probably) the only Father who suggests that this practice (with that which at this time is liturgically regular—the exclusion of catechumens and unbelievers from the canon of the Mass) was a tradition imposed by Christ or the Apostles. Not till March 19, 416, does a papal letter of Innocent I. display a pompous mystery in speaking of liturgical details which every sacramentary was about to publish to anyone still ignorant of them. The so-called *disciplina arcani* (a term invented in 1750 by the Protestant Daillé), a secret code of doctrine and rite, supposed to include the "forms" of consecration, the number of the Sacraments, the dogma of the Trinity, etc., was really invented for purposes of controversy by theologians who thought they found gaps in the early traditions, and had no notion of any "development" in the Church's thought and language. Details, it was argued, were kept secret—an esoteric lore, in fact. As unscientific was the theory of early Protestants (*e.g.* Casaubon) that the Pagan mysteries evolved the sacramental system in the Church. In brief, genuine Christianity knows no opposition of exoteric *v.* esoteric creed or cult; only the travesties of ancient heresy or modern pseudo-history have imagined it. *Cf.* Mgr.

Batiffol, "Arcane," in *Dict. Théol. Cath*, and Leclercq, *Dict. Arch. Chrét.*; Huyskens, *Zur Frage über sog. Arkandisziplin*, 1891.

APPENDIX B.—Paganism, dying, tried to fuse its religions and philosophies, to allegorize its myths, to find in one richly symbolized Pantheism consolation for its religious cravings, and salvation from the superstition or scepticism threatening it. Into this current even the Jews were swept, where (as at Alexandria) they were Hellenized. Philo (c. 40 A.D.) saw in Greek philosophy (especially Stoicism) only a loan from Moses; while the O.T., especially the Pentateuch, he allegorized to find in it all the treasures of Greek speculation. God, Philo held, was too transcendent to reveal Himself to intellect or sense, or even to create. Intermediate Powers, accordingly, create our low world; and the "second god"—God "manifest"—the *Logos* or Reason or "Word," expressed in the Universe, is our way of knowing God. Yet asceticism can so free the soul from matter that it can soar by ecstasy to contemplating the Divine Nature in itself (*cf.* Lect. XII. 11; XVIII. 20, n. 3; XX. 8 *sqq.*). On its side Paganism welcomed the mysterious Hebrew religion, thus reinterpreted in its favour. The mystic cults of Orpheus, of Pythagoras (with its Eastern theories of abstinence and transmigration), Persian dualism and Egyptian Osiric or Greek Hermetic myth, the highly Platonized Stoicism of the age, poured into the field prepared by the Alexandrians. Hence emerged the "New Platonism," taking its stand no more upon reasoning or sense-experience, but on ancient Authority and immediate Intuition. Plutarch, Cleanthes, Epictetus, even Apollonius, are among its heralds; the great Gnostics also. But its true founder was Ammonius Sakkas, d. about 245 A.D. Origen, Longinus, Plotinus will be his disciples; Plotinus the most famous. In his system, God the Invisible first generates Mind (*nous*); Mind, the soul; the Soul, this world of phenomena (here is almost our modern subjective idealism). Evil is not yet; only progressive diminution of *reality*. But, once plunged in matter, the soul is in conflict and disintegrates. Practice of virtues, asceticism, lift the life to *Mind*; ecstasy, to God. Porphyry says that Plotinus, in the six years he knew him, had four ecstasies. Porphyry was rigidly virtuous and ascetic, and violently anti-Christian. The Greek, especially Orphic statements of religion (Lect. XII. 3) must, he insisted, be maintained. With Iamblichus (d. 330 A.D.) the "theologizing" of Neoplatonism was complete. His *de Mysteriis* reaches an incredible altitude of ascetic, altruistic, and spiritual conception; yet (tragic, but customary, paradox!) precisely from this time Neoplatonism descends to the most grotesque of magical charlatanism, and the most futile of pseudo-mathematical fantasies. The fifth-century university of Athens strove to purify, but merely rationalized, desiccated

it. Its best passed over to "Dionysius," to Augustine, and Boetius (*cf.* Aug., *Conf.*, vii. 9–21). In Christian mysticism alone has the psychic balance been maintained. In the *nihilist* systems, where sense and intellect are held valueless, where abstinence is the supreme method, equilibrium was swiftly lost; licence and madness wait upon pagan asceticism and ecstasy. *Cf.* especially Zeller, *D. Philosophie d. Griechen*, 1881, iii., 414–865.

APPENDIX C.—The Hebrew religion, though so exclusive, modified surrounding cults (*e.g.* of Sabazius, Lect. XIV. 13) and was here and there modified by them (*e.g.* at Samaria: the Essenes). Christianity, itself remaining pure, created, outside itself, extraordinary new forms, especially in Judeo-pagan areas. Even within the Church, the Judaizers provoked unhealthy speculation as to the office and hierarchy of the angels, the nature of God, His relation to the law, the Messiah. Speculation runs riot: a special *gnôsis* or esoteric knowledge claims to sound the "deep things" (*of Satan*, cries the Apocalypse ii. 6, 14); tends to thrust God aloof; to subordinate the Christ; to "genealogize" intermediate spiritual beings; to preach a perverse asceticism (1, 2 Thess.; 1 Cor. iii. 11–16; 1, 2 Tim.; the "circular letter" called Ephesians; especially Col. i. 15–10, ii.; Jude; 2 Peter. It is from Paul the Gnostics will take the words *plêrôma*, *æon*; as from John, the *Word*, *Life*: not *vice versa*). Contemporary with John, Cerinthus declares God so aloof that He cannot "touch" matter. Thus *on* the man Jesus, born of Joseph and Mary, the Christ, or Spirit, descends only at the Baptism; the *creator-god*, Yahweh, cannot be God, but is an angel. Quiet follows for a space. But under Pope Callixtus (217–222), a Syrian, Alcibiades, appears at Rome, with a mystic book given, in 100 A.D., to a holy man named Elkasaï by an angel 30 leagues tall, called the *Son of God*, coupled with a like female figure, the *Spirit of God*. They preach penance and repeated baptisms, in which the initiates invoke seven witnesses, Heaven, Earth, holy Spirits, Angels of Prayer, Oil, Salt, Earth. Syrian formulæ occur, to be recited backwards. East of the Jordan and Dead Sea, even about 400 A.D., sects of these (Osseans, Sampseans, etc.) remained. They observe Jewish rites, retain fragmentary gospels, reject Paul, practise asceticism, and usually say that onto Jesus, son of Joseph, an Æon, or Spirit, or Angel (earlier incarnate in Adam, etc.) descended at the Baptism. But genuine Gnosticism had truer forerunners in the Syrian systems which may be connected with Simon Magus.[1] His

[1] See Acts viii. 5, 14. Justin, *Apol.*, i. 26, 56. Eus., *H.E.*, ii. 13, 14. Irenæus, *a. Hær.*, i. 16.

system centred in Samaria, a tainted centre of Jewish reverie. Simon taught a Supreme Power, which was himself, and its First Conception, Wisdom (revealed in his companion Helen). Through her, he conceives and thereby creates, the Angels. They, jealous of her, prevent her return to his mind, whence she had leapt. He therefore descends to redeem her (appearing, in suitable form, in each of the Angelic Worlds as he passes through it) into this angel-created world. In Samaria he appears (in Simon) as Father, in Judea as the Son (in whom he seems to die), in the Gentiles as the Spirit. He liberates the Divinity half lost in humanity, and mankind (by the knowledge of himself) he emancipates, *e.g.* from the Mosaic Law. In this "pre-Christian Gnosticism" Phœnician, Hellenistic, and Judaic notions fused. A mushroom growth of heresies followed. Saturninus of Antioch (under Trajan, 98–119) is the first outstanding figure. For him too God is infinitely remote. Seven angels make the world and men, in some of whom is a spark, issued from God, and to return to Him at death. Yahweh is such an angel, in revolt against God. Jesus, an emanation from God, has no human birth or body, but comes to defeat Yahweh and save such men as have the spark. Marriage and procreation are works of Satan. Yet Saturninus is no "Christ," nor are "couples" (Simon-Helen) indicated. In similar sects (which do not persist: Origen, c. 240, says but thirty "Simonians" survive in the whole world!) we always find an Ineffable God, coupled with a Supreme Thought; hence Æons in groups of seven and eight emanate. Always too some Æon suffers misfortune, whence sparks of fire fall into the lower world. Often a Demiurge believes himself God, and inspires the Old Testament. The Æon "Christ," one of the highest in the Plêrôma (scl. the totality of the Æons), joins himself to the man Jesus and they begin redemption. But under Hadrian (117–138) the great Gnostics appear, gravitating (inevitably) to Rome, but hailing (Valentinus, Basilides, Carpocrates) from Alexandria. Common features reveal themselves. The true God is unreachable, incommunicable. Yahweh, Creator and Lawgiver, is therefore no true God: but, like the world, is but one in a series of divinely originated but degenerating beings, often involved in some mysterious catastrophe. Jesus comes to reveal God, and to deliver such elements in world or man as are capable of redemption. But since God cannot really unite with man, the Incarnation is illusory and transitory. The Passion and Resurrection are unreal; *our* body will not rise. Hence either the flesh, to free the soul, must be annihilated (whence savage asceticism); or the soul, artificially linked to flesh, is irresponsible for the body's vagaries (whence licence). Hence invariable rejection of Old Testament, and prolific creation of "esoteric" gospels—of Thomas, Philip, Jude; the

Greater and Lesser Questions of Mary; the Gospel of Perfection: hence "apocrypha" placed in the mouths of ancient sages—Enoch, Seth, Elias; hence new inspired prophets (Bar-kabbas, Barkoph); and mythical "interpreters" of the Apostles ("Glaucias," of Peter for the Basilidians: "Theodas," of Paul for the Valentinians). Much external ceremonial and magic formula were used.[1] It is impossible to detail this grotesque system. Men are material (who cannot be saved), psychic (who may be), spiritual (who must be: these are the Valentinians—they simply have to let themselves live; their spirit is independent of their body). Basilides' system was "celibate," and nearer Saturninus' than Simon's. The Unbegotten begot Mind, whence the Word, whence Knowledge, whence Wisdom and Might, whence Virtues Powers, and Angels. Our heaven (the 365th) is populated by angels, chief of whom is Yahweh. He tries to tyrannize; strife breaks out; Gods sends Mind (as Jesus) to make peace. The Cyrenean dies in his place, whence no honour is due to the Crucified. The Old Testament is rejected, but ordinary morality is retained. Passions are "appendices," and cannot hurt the soul in the long run, though forcing it to expiate sins in future lives (by metempsychosis). Magic, especially the word *Abraxas*, conquers bad angels. Carpocrates was far more Hellenized and need not be detailed. He was a Platonist tinged with Gnostic Christianity. In these systems the progressive degeneration of Light into darkness, the irreducible opposition of Good to Bad, shows as certain a modification of Syrian thought by Persian dualism, as of Alexandrian by Platonic Pantheism. Alexandria can thus be more tolerant than Syria, and connect Christ with the Creator, with whom Syria can but contrast Him. In the symbolism of the Gnostics the serpent played a prominent part. For all this *cf.* especially Mgr. Duchesne, *History of the Early Church*, i. c. 11; Mansel, *Gnostic Heresies*, 1875; C. W. King, *Gnostics and their Remains*, 1887; Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 1894.

APPENDIX D.—We permit ourselves to quote the following letters of Mme. Blavatsky from the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, vol. iii. (parts viii., ix.), 1885, 201–400, which contains two plates of H. P. B.'s handwriting and a plan of the miraculous shrine. (H. P. B. boldly showed this report to A. B. before her conversion.)

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[1] Valentinus' system is "nuptial": the (male) Abyss marries Silence; hence Mind and Truth, who also marry (these are the first Tetrad of Higher Æons); hence Word and Life, whence Man and Church, whence many further pairs of intermarrying Æons, forming the Plêrôma.

H. P. B. to Mme. Coulomb, Oct. 1883, (p. 211):—

Now, dear, let us change the programme. Whether *something* succeeds or not, I must try. Jacob Sassoon, the happy proprietor of a crore of rupees, is anxious to become a Theosophist. He is ready to give 10,000 rupees to buy and repair the head-quarters; he said to Colonel (Ezekiel, his cousin, arranged all this), if only he saw a little phenomenon, got the assurance that the *Mahatmas* could hear what was said, or give him some *other sign of their existence* (? ! !). Well, this letter will reach you the 26th, Friday; will you go up to the Shrine and ask K. H. [Koot Hoomi; the name of H. P. B.'s "Master"] to send me a telegram that would reach me about 4 or 5 in the afternoon same day, worded thus:—

"Your conversation with Mr. Jacob Sassoon reached Master just now. Were the latter even to satisfy him, still the doubter would hardly find the moral courage to connect himself with the Society.—RAMALINGA DEB."

If this reaches me on the 26th, even in the evening, it will still produce a tremendous impression. Address, care of N. Khandallavalla, Judge, Poona. *Je ferai le reste.* Cela coutera quatre ou cinq roupies. *Cela ne fait rien.*—Yours truly, (Signed) H. P. B.

Page 212:—

Le général part pour affaires à Madras . . . et veut voir le *shrine* . . . il est qu'il s'attend à un phénomène car il me l'a dit . . . suppliez K. H. . . . de soutenir l'honneur de famille . . . Damn les autres. Celui-là vaut son pesant d'or. Per l'amor del Dio ou de qui vous voudrez *ne manquez pas cette occasion* car elle ne se répétera plus . . . à vous de cœur.—LUNA MELANCOLICA.

Page 214:—

Ma chère Amie,—Je n'ai pas une minute pour répondre. Je vous supplie faites parvenir cette lettre (here inclosed) à Damodar *in a miraculous way.* It is very, *very* important. Oh, ma chère que je suis donc malheureuse! De tous côtés des désagréments et des horreurs. Toute à vous. —H. P. B.

H. P. B. said these letters were forged by Mme. Coulomb, whom she had expelled from the T.S. We respect English, French, punctuation, etc.—ED.

On the general question of mysticism, much material of singular interest and an amazing bibliography will be found in Miss Evelyn Underhill's *Mysticism*, Methuen, 1911.

SPIRITUALISM

By the Rev. R. H. Benson

It is becoming every day increasingly impossible for any educated man to dismiss the subject of Spiritualism with mere contempt. A matter which is engaging the earnest attention of men like Professor Barrett, Professor Oliver Lodge, and women like Mrs Henry Sidgwick; a branch of inquiry which absorbs Professor Richet, which has changed Professor Lombroso from a convinced materialist into a believer in the spiritual world; a religion which numbers hundreds of thousands of adherents throughout the civilized globe, including many professors at foreign universities, and has produced societies in every European country, which can trace back its spiritual descent in every civilization practically as far as ordinary theistic religion itself; which claims, unlike other religions, to produce evidential phenomena practically at will, and to bring spiritual existences before the bar of the senses—all this can no longer be ignored or simply laughed at. A generation or two ago it was possible to take up such an attitude; it appeared then, at least to men of average education, as if the matter had become finally discredited; the thing lurked about among ill-informed people in slightly disreputable and dingy surroundings; its professors, when they engaged public attention at all, were frequently detected in fraud; there was scarcely one adherent to its philosophy—scarcely even one who thought it worth investigation—whose name was known beyond his own immediate circle. But all this has changed. The affair has come out into the light of day; its phenomena are in process of being

respectfully judged by scientists as well as by theologians; and it must take its place at last among the recognized religions of the world.

I (i)

Its history is, as has been said, as old as the history of civilization, and even older, since, under the form of *Necromancy*, it is said to be traceable among various nations in almost every part of the world, and it survives to-day among peoples so far removed from one another as the Esquimaux and the Hindus. It is also one of its characteristics that it usually undergoes strong revivals at periods when established creeds are beginning to lose their hold, and that it is one of the most common signs of decadence in religious thought. It is mentioned, with decided condemnation, in book after book of the Old Testament.[1] Yet it is difficult to determine its creed, since this appears to take its colouring to a large extent from the religious thought of the respective countries in which it flourishes.[2] It is by its phenomena, and its startling claims to bring the spiritual world within the range of the senses, rather than by its dogmas, that it may be identified as one religion rather than many.

It would be impossible therefore to give a coherent or exhaustive account of Spiritualism considered as a world-religion. All that is possible is to describe it as it appears in the world to-day, to state its claims, and to examine its credentials. In its present form, especially under the aspect of communication through

[1] Lev. xx. 6. "The soul that shall go aside after magicians and soothsayers . . . I will set my face against that soul." xix. 31; 1 Kings xxviii. 3; 4 Kings xxi. 6; etc.

[2] Spiritistic practices have been traced amongst nations so far removed from one another as the ancient Egyptians, the Greeks, the Jews, the North American Indians. (*Cf.* Lapponi, *Hypnotism and Spiritism*, pp. 20 ff.)

rapping on tables, it first appeared in America in the year 1848, whence it spread quickly all over Europe.[1]

(ii)

Briefly speaking, the spiritualist claims that the "other world" is directly accessible to this, not merely by one revelation made once for all and preserved in its integrity, not merely by sacraments or the reception of supersensual grace, not merely by exceptional and abnormal apparitions very occasionally granted by direct Divine permission; but by constant communications from the spirits of the departed, through which men can be assured of the survival of human souls, and can receive a kind of progressive revelation of the supreme laws of the universe.

These communications are made (it is said) in a variety of ways; but for all of them there is required what is known as the *mediumistic* faculty on the part of at least one of the inquirers. The *medium* in fact is a person living in this world who, through his peculiar constitution, is enabled to act as a channel between the two worlds, and to be so used by the discarnate personalities who desire to communicate with human beings. For those communications to take place it is usually necessary for the medium to pass into a state of trance, such as was that into which the priests and priestesses of the old oracles were accustomed to pass. The usual method of procedure at spiritualistic meetings then, though not the invariable method, is as follows:—

The inquirers themselves sit round a table and endeavour to put themselves into a sympathetic attitude of mind, placing their hands upon the table in order to establish the "circle"—that is, a kind of psychical ring, connected perhaps with some unknown

[1] Its revival at the present day is no doubt largely due to the Protestant disregard of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints.

laws of magnetism—through which the communications may be more easily made. The "spiritual atmosphere" is often helped by the singing of hymns, the playing of soft music, or the offering of prayer. The medium, according to circumstances, sits either with the inquirers or in a cabinet apart by himself. Precautions are usually taken intended to guard against possible fraud, conscious or unconscious.

After a certain period has passed it is claimed that phenomena frequently take place that put it beyond a doubt that discarnate and intelligent spirits are present and are beginning to communicate. These are generally of one or more of the following kinds:—

(*a*) *Movements of inanimate objects.*—The table at which the inquirers are seated begins to tremble, to move, to emit rapping sounds, to rise from the floor in such a manner as cannot be explained by human agency. Objects in the room are seen (in the twilight, in which the séances are usually held) to move through the air; or, in darkness, are felt by the sitters to touch them. Objects are brought through closed doors and placed upon the table. Other objects are actually "materialized," that is, are brought into existence in a manner to be discussed later. Lights of a peculiar nature are formed in the air and move about fast or slowly. A pencil placed upon a sheet of paper or within locked slates is heard to move upon the paper, and messages are found later written upon the paper or slates.[1]

[1] Extract from "Report on a Series of Sittings with Eusapia Palladino," reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the Society for Psychical Research, part lix., vol. xxiii. pp. 404, 431, 498. By the Hon. Everard Feilding, W. W. Baggally, and Hereward Carrington:—

(*a*) "12.5 a.m. Complete levitation of the table.
C. I hold both her ankles with my two hands.
F. I was holding her right hand in the middle of the table.
Prof. G. I was holding her left hand on the rim of the table.
F. Prof. G.'s left hand was on my right hand (across the table).
Note by M. Large movements of the table; I can just see the table up in the air. . . ."
(Extract from shorthand report taken at the time.)

(*b*) *Messages delivered through the mouth of the medium.*—These consist in sentences spoken by the medium, generally in a voice alien to himself, purporting to come from one or more discarnate spirits present in the room, known either personally or by repute while they lived in the body to one or more of the inquirers. It is claimed that these messages often concern private matters utterly unknown to the medium, known only to the inquirer and to the departed soul who is present. Sometimes these messages are of a private nature, sometimes of public interest, and concern spiritual and religious truths.

(*c*) *Messages delivered through inanimate objects.*—These come sometimes, as has been said, by means of a pencil placed on paper or within locked slates, sometimes by means of raps upon the table or the walls of a room, interpreted by a code agreed upon by the sitters. Three raps usually are taken to stand for "yes," one rap for "no."[1]

"11.26 p.m. The small table is levitated right on to the séance table, through the curtains between B. and the medium. It rose to a height of two and a half feet from the floor, and is now resting on the séance table. . . ."

"12.50 a.m. F. She taps with her right hand on mine, and the tambourine shakes synchronously within the cabinet.

C. The bell rings, and has been brought on the top of the medium's head from the cabinet, and remains there.

F. I was holding her right hand on the top of the table. I saw the bell arrive on her head. . . ."

(*b*) "F. A light flashed out about a foot behind and above the medium's head. It was of a brilliant bluish-green colour. (It was a steady light, and lasted about two seconds.)

11.37 p.m. F. Now another light has come out, this time on the medium's lap.

B. Both C. and F. saw a brilliant light inside the cabinet, about two and a half feet from the medium, inside the right-hand curtain. . . ."

It must be noted that these séances were conducted by trained observers under stringent test-conditions. The extracts are given from this report as containing, on the whole, descriptions of the most accurate and scientific observations made in recent times.

[1] "Report," etc., pp. 470, 475.

"11.1 p.m. Four nods of her head are followed by four thumps on the table. She did not touch the table with her head.

11.54 p.m. Table tilts four times, meaning 'talk.'"

(*d*) *Automatic handwriting.*—For this two methods are employed. (1) Some person, usually the medium, holding a pencil passively in his fingers, begins after a little preliminary scribbling to write, sometimes at a superhuman speed, sometimes with a superhuman minuteness, sometimes in a handwriting closely resembling that used by the person whose spirit is said to be present, messages and sentences concerning private matters known to none present except the one to whom the message is directed. (2) The same results are obtained by the use of an instrument called *planchette*—that is, a little heart-shaped board running on three castors, pierced by a pencil whose point just touches a paper placed beneath. The medium's fingers are placed lightly upon the board, and the pencil moves apparently without the medium's volition. It must be noted that both these methods of communication are frequently employed by inquirers quite apart from any séance, and results are often equally well obtained.

(*e*) *Materialization.*—This is considered the triumph of spiritualism, and consists in its full form in the actual appearance, before the senses of sight, hearing, and touch, of a discarnate soul that has clothed itself with a body for the occasion. The phenomenon takes place in a variety of ways. It will be enough to describe the more usual.

The medium seats himself, generally partly in view of the sitters, or, if not, tightly secured by cords, within the cabinet, and passes into the state of trance. After a certain period, often of apparent distress to the medium, a certain disturbance makes itself felt: sounds are heard, or movements perceived, or a sensation of cold. There appear then, sometimes in the full sight of the sitters, a luminous cloud that gradually takes shape and existence, and is ultimately recognized by some one present as possessing the form and features of a dead friend. The degree of "materialization" varies with the amount of "power"

that is present. Sometimes it is little more than a faint vaporous intangible model, generally swathed in drapery; sometimes, it is said, the power is great enough to produce a figure that can be handled and touched, and is, apparently, in all respects like a human body, with powers of free speech and movement. Further claims are made with regard to the effect of this appearance upon the photographic lens. Photographs are shown, declared to be taken under test-conditions, representing such figures which were at the time invisible to the human eye; in such cases it is said that the "materialization" took place, but not with sufficient power to manifest itself to a less delicate instrument than the camera. The disappearance of the apparition takes place in various manners. Sometimes it passes back into the body of the medium from which it has been seen to emerge; sometimes it retires behind a curtain; sometimes it disintegrates visibly before the eyes of the sitters into a small incoherent mist, which presently itself disappears.[1]

(iii)

The spiritualist theory as to the manner of these phenomena is commonly as follows:—There is said to be resident in the human body a certain force or matter called "astral"; and a medium is a person from whom this substance can be easily detached. This "astral" substance is situated on the border line between matter and spirit, and is the means by which discarnate spirits can communicate.[2]

[1] "Report," etc., pp. 448, 449, 453, 463:—

"B. A hand comes out from behind the curtain and presses me tightly on my shoulder. I feel the thumb and the four fingers, which are now pressing downwards with very considerable force. . . ."

"At 11.38 there appeared one of these strange objects seen from time to time at Eusapia's séances, to which, for want of a better name, the word 'head' is applied. . . ."

"C. I saw a head come out from the curtains slowly, and within six inches from my head, and it stayed out about two seconds and then went back."

[2] The word "astral" would seem to have been imported into Spiritualism from the East through Theosophy.

For example:—In the case of the sounds and movements mentioned above, it is believed that it is through this "astral force" that the relations with matter are set up. In the case of "materialization" it is this "astral substance" that is drawn off in great quantities, not only from the medium but even from the persons of the sitters, and moulded by the will of the communicating soul into the aspect of that body which it inhabited on earth. To the loss of this "astral substance" is attributed the state of nervous exhaustion in which mediums are so often found after emerging from trance; and to its vital relations with the medium is attributed the violent shock caused to the medium if the "materialized" figure is in any way interfered with. Opinions differ as to the extent in which the substance is reabsorbed by the person from whom it was taken after the close of the phenomena.

With regard to the explanation of the phenomena of *automatic handwriting*, it is held by spiritualists that the communicating spirit, through means of the astral power with which the writer is charged, controls his hand and his brain; with regard to the communications made through the mouth of the medium, it is his voice that is so used. It is freely conceded by spiritualists that certain well-defined dangers to the nervous centres of the medium usually accompany all attempts (especially by means of "materialization") to communicate with the spiritual world; that deceiving spirits occasionally seek to play tricks upon the inquirers, and even to impersonate their dead relatives; but it is claimed that those perils are reduced to a minimum by the methods used, and that the gain to spiritual knowledge is incalculably greater than the loss to health or serenity.

(iv)

The Spiritualist Creed, as has been said, is exceedingly difficult of definition, since professed spiritual

teachings, when brought together, are frequently found to be mutually exclusive. Yet, on the whole (at least at the present day in European countries), spiritualist dogmas seem to be emerging into some kind of coherent form.

The existence of God is usually acknowledged; indeed, Sunday schools and churches organized for purposes of worship as well as of instruction, and for the training of children as mediums, have been in existence in England for many years. Beyond this it is taught that the actions of life here have a corresponding effect upon the state of existence hereafter, though the doctrine of eternal punishment is, practically always, explicitly denied. The condition of life in the next world is said to be one of progressive purification, rising, it would seem, up to some kind of absorption into the Supreme Spirit, to whom the name of God is given. All distinctively Christian doctrines are usually denied, although it is said of Jesus Christ that as a spiritual teacher He has had few equals and no superiors. It is claimed that He Himself was an adept medium, and that His appearances after the Resurrection were instances of "materialization." His Divinity is practically always explicitly denied.

It is exceedingly difficult to say more than this of the Spiritualistic creed, since, besides the divergences in various countries already mentioned, there is occasionally a further divergence even in teaching given to the same inquirer as he advances in knowledge. The disciple is at first told to practise his religion; but later on is informed that Christian worship and doctrine are only embryonic stages of the truth, and that the initiate will find all that he needs in the teaching given him by the spirits.

The dogmatic system of the Spiritualists, therefore, is best described as a vague kind of Theism, at times closely resembling Pantheism.

II

It will be seen plainly from the foregoing pages that it will be impossible within the limits of a pamphlet to do more than sketch very lightly the criticisms that may be passed upon Spiritualism, and the reasons why the Catholic Church (and indeed all the historical religions of the world) has condemned and rejected it, and forbidden it to her children, both in its present form and under its old presentment in Necromancy. The Jewish Church herself always regarded it with horror, and inflicted the severest penalties upon all her people who meddled with it.

Very briefly, however, the reasons and criticisms are as follows:—

(i)

First, it is necessary to remember the enormous amount of fraud that has always accompanied the practice of Spiritualism—fraud that is acknowledged and deplored, to be frank, by Spiritualists themselves. While, therefore, fraud on the part of the professors of a religion is not enough to discredit entirely the religion itself (for in that case hardly any creed would be immune), it is yet, in this instance, of sufficient gravity to cause us to doubt very seriously the reckless assertions occasionally made by Spiritualists, and to demand very searching tests indeed before any of the more startling phenomena are accepted as facts. In addition to the instances of this deliberate and conscious fraud—instances known to all who have studied the history of the movement (as, for example, in the case of the famous William Eglinton)—there must also be added unconscious fraud, exaggeration and doubtful testimony, due on the one side to the almost irresistible desire of the medium to produce evidence, and on the other to the very fierce state of nervous excitment of most inquirers under the cir-

cumstances described above.[1] Large deductions, therefore, must be made with regard to the whole body of evidence that is circulated generally among the public.

(ii)

There remains, however, when all such deductions have been made, a residuum (and of a very startling nature) which it is impossible to disregard; evidence, too, that fits in in a remarkable manner with much that has always been believed by Catholics; though these, as will be shown presently, give a very different explanation of it from that offered by Spiritualists.[2] But even this, however, must be sifted further before anything even resembling a Spiritualistic theory can be deduced from it.

It is now an established fact among psychologists that ideas, or sense-images, can be transmitted from the brain of one living person to that of another, and that the transmission takes place with increased ease if the mind of the recipient or the agent is in a

[1] The most recent opinion of competent judges in the case of Eusapia Palladino is that the medium in question, while possessing und ubted "powers," supplements them by fraud, both conscious and unconscious.

[2] From "Report of Sittings with Eusapia Palladino," etc., p. 463:—"B., who is evidently passing through the same stages as I did in my earlier séances, toys with the suggestion of an apparatus, by way of easing his mind. It would be an interesting problem to set before a manufacturer of conjuring machines to devise an apparatus capable of producing alternatively a black, flat, profile face, a square face on a long neck, and a 'cello-like face on a warty, wobbly body two feet long; also a white hand with movable fingers, a yellowish hand, and a hand invisible altogether—all these for use outside the curtain. Further, for use within, a hand with practicable living thumb and fingers having nails. . . . Our manufacturer must so construct the apparatus that it can be actuated unseen by a somewhat stout and elderly lady, clad in a tight plain gown, who sits outside the curtain, held visibly by hand and foot, in such a way as to escape the observation of the practical conjurers clinging about her, and on the look-out for its operation. It must further be of such dimensions as to be concealed about the lady while parading herself for inspection upon a chair, clad in her stays and a short flannel petticoat.—E. F., Dec. 6, 1908."

passive condition.[1] We are bound, therefore, in approaching the subject from the purely scientific side, to allow that a great number at least of the alleged messages from the dead, whether given by the voice or the hand of the medium, may be nothing more than the result of this transmission of thought, or *telepathy*. It is of no evidential value to say that the inquirer in this or that instance has been reminded through such a message of a fact he had forgotten: the very fact that he recognized it as true shows that the thought somewhere resided in his brain.

(iii)

There remain the *physical* phenomena—all such things as sounds, lights, the movement of objects and "materializations"—the physical phenomena that remain, that is to say, after due deductions have been made for fraud, conscious or unconscious. There remains further to be discussed the Spiritualistic philosophy concerning them.

First, then, it must be said in fairness that, at any rate until recently, many eminent scientists who have gravely examined the physical phenomena are dissatisfied with the evidence presented in their favour. They deny, in fact, the assertion that the things in question prove the presence of discarnate spirits. Fraud and imagination, they say, are sufficient to account for all. To this, again in fairness, it must be answered that, as a rule, these inquirers approach the question in a state of convinced scepticism, and

[1] It is impossible, in view of recent researches, to deny any longer that *Telepathy* is an established conclusion of science. It need not be concluded, however, that what St. Thomas appears to teach as to the impossibility of purely mental communications is at all assailed by this discovery. For, curiously enough, some of the characteristics of telepathy are markedly in accordance with the philosophy of St. Thomas. For example, communications by telepathy are nearly always conveyed by faint visualized pictures. The idea is not communicated direct. This seems to correspond remarkably with what St. Thomas implies, at least, with regard to sense-images.

that convinced scepticism is exactly that condition of mind that prevents the best manifestations. Certainly it is an unfortunate dilemma, but a perfectly legitimate one. It is the dilemma in which both Huxley and his Christian adversaries were placed when the former proposed testing the efficacy of prayer by the expedient of praying for the recovery of the patients in one selected ward of a hospital, and of comparing results with those of the other wards. Faith, or at least passivity of mind, it is claimed by Spiritualists, is a condition necessary to manifestations.

To Catholics, however, and indeed to most Christians, the evidence must naturally be of a very different value from that which it has to those who are not satisfied that a spiritual world exists at all. Catholics are persuaded that it does exist, that it does manifest itself (as in the lives of the saints) to the dwellers in this. They are bound, therefore, to be predisposed to accept good evidence to the effect that in this or that instance it has manifested itself; and the only questions that remain to be settled are, firstly, do these phenomena take place among spiritualists? secondly, how are they to be interpreted?

To this first question, no adequate answer can, of course, be given. A Catholic is perfectly free to deny that such things happen if he has examined the evidence and found it insufficient. He is not free, however—if he claims to be an intelligent man—to deny its possibility. Allowing, then, that the evidence has been found sufficient to show that at séances phenomena take place—of the kind described above—in sufficient number to be considerable, and of such a nature that they cannot be attributed to human agency[1]—what further criticisms can be passed upon them, and what conclusions can be drawn?

[1] It would occupy too much space to discuss adequately the theory put forward tentatively by some observers to the effect that the "subconscious self" (*i.e.* the range of these powers and faculties, such as the power of thought-transference, unconscious cerebration, etc., lying beneath the ordinary faculties of man) is capable of producing actual physical phe-

These criticisms are of various kinds—founded respectively upon observation, and on the principles of theology.

A. *Criticisms founded on observation.*

(*a*) First it cannot but be remarked that the phenomena are extremely frequently of a very trifling nature at the best. Foolish tricks are continually played upon the sitters; mocking answers given, or evasions, to their questions.[1] These are explained by spiritualists as being the work of low-caste or earth-bound spirits who intrude themselves into the circle. Yet the very possibility of this—and it is not denied that this phenomenon is fairly common—throws a very great doubt upon the genuineness of the other communications. If it is found impossible for inquirers, even with the best intentions, to protect themselves against these annoyances, how can it be possible for them to be sure that even the graver

nomena such as some of those described in these pages. It is, of course, a possible explanation—(possible, at least, in the sense that such an assertion cannot possibly be disproved, since it attributes to an almost wholly unknown part of human nature forces completely unanalogous to any others possessed by man)—but so also might it be attributed to electricity or ether, or some completely unknown but natural agency. To those, however, who believe at all in the existence of a spiritual world, it will seem a far more tenable hypothesis to suppose that it is from this spiritual world that the force is generated ; and therefore, so far as the evidence goes, a more scientific hypothesis.

[1] (*a*) "I was suddenly startled by a noise like that of hammering, and of occasional footsteps, clearly emanating from the bedroom occupied by my friend. . . . The strange noises, which appeared to have ceased at the moment of my entrance, recommenced almost immediately with the utmost vigour, and I became the witness of a scene such as I have never witnessed before. . . . A hundred hands seemed to be hammering away on walls and doors and table and bed, and every now and then there was the sound of feet tramping along the floor. . . . As morning dawned the noises gradually ceased."—(*Dangers of Spiritualism*, pp. 45, 46.)

(*b*) "The moment the door is opened, it may be by the presence of persons of like inclinations, of ignorant or credulous mediums . . . or men of immoral or intemperate habits, troops of so-called 'dark' spirits rush in, and indulge these propensities to silly tricks, lying deception, and temptation to evil."—(Letter from a spiritualist of twenty years' standing, quoted in *Dangers of Spiritualism*, p. 125.)

messages come from those personalities that profess to send them?

(*b*) This doubt is further enhanced by the extraordinary meagreness even of the most solemn "spiritual teachings." If the spiritualistic theory were true, if it were a fact that some of the greatest thinkers and scientists in the world's history, consumed by a desire to illuminate their brethren still living on earth, returned to give them that teaching, how is it that no historical mystery has ever yet been solved by this means, no scientific problem answered, no ascetical doctrine superior to that already given by teachers on earth ever yet bestowed? The collections of "spiritual teachings" circulated from time to time among the public seldom surpass in intelligence or knowledge the average works of writers even still incarnate; much less do they approximate in knowledge or spirituality to the teachings of the greatest spiritual Leaders of the past.

(*c*) It is a matter of regret among spiritualists themselves that occasionally, after the most poignant scenes, when the presence of some departed friend has been recognized by one of the inquirers, further investigation has shown that the communicating personality has broken down in some perfectly simple test of identity.[1] This seems to lead to the inevitable conclusion that in some cases at least the discarnate spirit that has manifested itself has been deliberately

[1] "The absolute futility of any attempt at identifying spirits is another discouraging or unsatisfactory circumstance. It is no proof that the spirit communicating is A. B. if he tells me of words or circumstances (supposed to be) known only to A. B. and myself. . . . The alleged 'friend' of a few years ago (while he was writing through me, and turning my ideas upside down through his extraordinary 'counsel' and hypocrisy) certainly was possessed of knowledge of my present history unknown to anybody else. . . . Now if one's diary of thoughts and acts is an open book for one spirit and another to read at his convenience, nothing that he may resurrect to one's mind is any proof that he is trustworthy . . . . any more than would be the case if a shoeblack read over one's shoulder what one had written . . . . and claimed by virtue of his knowledge that he was one's father or mother."—(Extract from a letter quoted in *Dangers of Spiritualism*, pp. 115, 116.)

impersonating another in a most heartless manner. Grave suspicion then is bound to remain even in cases where fraud of this kind has not been detected.

(*d*) It is a matter of common knowledge among spiritualists that the nervous exhaustion which so often comes upon the medium during or after a séance has led in many cases to a complete breakdown of the mental and moral powers. This is not, of course, in any sense a conclusive argument; religious mania is known in every creed; but the fact becomes more significant when it is remembered that, on the other side, Spiritualism has not produced characters of any extraordinary sanctity or eminence. Except in the cases where materialists have been convinced through means of Spiritualism of the existence of another world, it is impossible to point to any spiritual or mental gain to balance the extremely numerous losses on the other side.

(*e*) Further, it is exceedingly easy to adduce testimony after testimony from those who, once spiritualists, have relinquished the life because of the loss not only of mental but also moral virtues. An extremely unpleasant symptom in the case of inquirers too much absorbed in such practices as those of *planchette* or ordinary *automatic handwriting* is the appearance of the obscene and blasphemous element in the communications received. Of course such results as those, as well as others less terrible (such as loss of will-power, morbidity, etc.) may very well arise from the mere passivity of mind necessary for success in such experiments, and from the consequent uprush of those realms of human consciousness not directly controlled by the will (as in the case of delirium). Yet, even with all allowances made for such possibilities, there would seem to remain a certain malignancy of deliberate purpose, a certain design followed in the process, certainly not intended by the inquirer, that would argue strongly in favour of another personality being at work. At any rate, in such cases, there is an inten-

tion of communicating with the spiritual world; and if this means of communication were according to the Divine will—if even it were true that the communicating personalities were those which they professed to be—it would be difficult to account for the persistence of this phenomenon.

The following extract from a letter to the author of *The Dangers of Spiritualism* is given at length, as containing an excellent analysis of the state of brain and nerves—to say the least—brought on by the continued practice of automatic handwriting.

"But now comes the worst part of the whole story. My whole being had manifestly undergone a change; I seemed to have received another nature—gross, vile, sensual, originating the most vile and abominable ideas, such as had never formerly entered into my mental life. My old self was still there, thank God! I have never quite lost that. But, although rebellious and disgusted, it nevertheless seemed powerless against the stronger, evil influence which was dominating it. It was as if some unclean spirit had taken possession of me, had driven out my old self, and was using my mind and body for its own vile purposes. At first, I fought and struggled against it, and tried to rouse myself; but it was all to no purpose. All the day long my body was tired, weighed down by a heavy, languid, care-for-nothing feeling. I had no desire but to lie down and to let my thoughts go wandering. I lost interest in everything I used to delight in in former times. I dropped my studies; my hobbies had no longer any charm for me; everything seemed an effort and a trouble. I have read of the mental and physical condition of opium-smokers, and it certainly seemed to me as if I was overpowered by a kind of moral opium which simply rendered me powerless to make any more effort. Only when evening came I seemed capable of moving. I then began to grow restless. If I went to bed I could not sleep, but simply lay awake, my brain all activity,

imagining, picturing the most wretched abominations. Dreading, therefore, to go to bed, I used to go out. Invariably I would find myself proceeding to some low public-house, not to drink, but just to be in the company of, and to hobnob with, any dirty, low fellow I would find there. And, strange to say, such would receive me just as one of themselves, while I felt perfectly at home with them—I, who had never been in the habit of frequenting the bar of even the most respectable public-house. I had no desire whatever to go among decent people of my own station of life; on the contrary, I liked the company I met with in these places; I liked the low, foul conversation; I revelled in the filthy talk! I would treat my companions to drink, and positively enjoyed seeing them drunk. The smell of the stale beer, of the rank tobacco, their crude familiarities, were like tonics to me. The weariness would go; I would sing and laugh with the loudest of them, thinking it a fine thing to be called a 'jolly good chap.' I could never get drunk myself; a single pint of beer would make me sick. When morning came I would get up, haggard, tired, ashamed, disgusted, afraid to meet any person of my acquaintance. I can't describe all the horrible things I went through, some of them veritable orgies. Time passed, things gradually got worse; I dropped my old friends, or they dropped me. I became unsettled and miserable in my work; I felt that I could not remain in my place, that I must get away. With new scenes and new faces I might get the better of this thing. So I sent in my resignation and left the town. . . . At present I am living an idle, aimless life, just existing on the payment I obtain for a few hours' private teaching a week, and a few shillings picked up playing the piano in public-houses. I am without hopes, prospects, or friends. What is there to live for?

"And now let me draw attention to one or two curious points in my history. It is very difficult to

explain exactly the relationship between the two natures inhabiting my body. I shall make myself better understood if I use the word *ego* to signify my own mental identity, and *alter* that of the other. By *I* and *me* I mean my physical self (common to both). Both of them are *I*; but the two are never 'in residence' at the same time. There is now no struggle for mastery. The change is imperceptible. I may now be *ego*, then I suddenly find myself *alter*. This latter, without warning, comes and takes possession, drives out *ego*, or paralyses him, does what he likes, and just as suddenly goes. He just ignores, never remembers or thinks of *ego*. *Ego*, on the contrary, has a vivid recollection of *alter*, is disgusted with him, loathes him, fears him, looks upon him as a vile, sensual thief, who has robbed him (*ego*) of all that made life worth living. When I am *alter* I am strong, active in mind and body, full of devilry, daring anything, imagining and enjoying all evil. When *alter* goes, poor, pitiful *ego* just creeps back into a weak, exhausted body, weary, tired of life, full of remorse, making good resolutions, yet having no power to carry them out. There is one other point. If I can manage to get off into a good sleep, *alter* seems to be powerless. My dreams are always pleasant, mostly of people and places of the good old times, never of anything bad. It is only when I am awake, and when my mind is unemployed, that *alter* catches me. My worst time is at night. If I go to bed without being able to sleep, *alter* is in full possession, running riot with my imagination till the morning.

"There may have been no connection between my dabbling in telepathy and this other thing, but, rightly or wrongly, I believe that on that night some unclean spirit attached itself to me, gradually gaining influence over my nature, and in the end making me his mere slave. For very shame I have been obliged to keep the whole matter to myself. People sometimes marvel (and well they might) at the change which has come

over me. My sense of fairness will not permit me to put the whole blame upon telepathy; there may have been some unconscious error on my part, or some circumstance unknown to me may have caused this alteration in my life. The fact itself remains; I know what I was before that evening, and I know what I have been since.

"I have only succeeded in writing this by fits and starts when I am *ego*; *alter* nearly threw it all into the fire last evening, calling it a d——d lot of rubbish."

So much, then, for criticisms founded on observation. We pass on to—

B. *Criticisms founded on theology.*

It must first be remarked that the following criticisms will have no weight with those who approach the subject of Spiritualism as pure agnostics—beyond the weight of the fact that historical religion has always recognized the existence of Spiritualism or Necromancy, and, up to a certain point at least, the objectivity of its phenomena.

For it is not only the Catholic Church that has condemned Spiritualism, the Protestant bodies have usually done so as well, and the Jewish Church punished the adherents of Necromancy with death. Spiritualism, or Necromancy, or the dealing with "familiar spirits," has always been regarded by the other great world-religions as a bastard, rather than a competitor with a dignity comparable to their own. This fact is at least significant.

(*a*) First, then, it is sufficient for the Catholic to recognize that Spiritualism is, dogmatically, an adversary, and not an ally of his own creed. It is claimed sometimes that Spiritualism and Christianity are compatible, and, theoretically, it may be so; but, practically, their dogmatic systems are mutually exclusive, and Christians who practise Spiritualism are bound in the long-run to choose between that faith and their own. So far as Spiritualism has produced a coherent creed at all, it directly traverses

even such fundamental doctrines as that of the Incarnation.

(*b*) Catholic theology teaches in detail that the destiny of all men at death takes them elsewhere in the spiritual world. It is entirely incompatible with Catholic belief to believe that the souls of the departed are allowed, except under very peculiar and unusual circumstances, to revisit this earth with the intention of communicating with those still living upon it. To believe that those souls are so far at the mercy of mediums as to be compelled, practically, in instance after instance, to manifest themselves here—particularly under such circumstances as usually accompany spiritualistic séances—is utterly antagonistic both to the letter and the spirit of Catholic teaching.

For these two main reasons, then, as well as for others mentioned above, the Catholic Church condemns Spiritualism without reserve. She acknowledges the fact that the spiritual world is accessible to this, and this to that; but she lays down most stringently the only modes in which such communication may be sought, and denounces the rest as methods contrary to the Divine Will.

(*c*) What, then, is the view of Catholic theologians as regards the phenomena claimed by Spiritualists?

First it must be noted that Catholics do not pledge themselves, as a matter of faith, even to the objectivity of the phenomena. This or that piece of evidence must be judged, as all other evidence, even in support of alleged Catholic miracles, simply on its own weight. At the same time it is undoubtedly true that Catholic theologians as a whole are disposed to accept much of the evidence offered by Spiritualists as a sufficient proof that phenomena do take place at séances and elsewhere which cannot be accounted for on natural grounds. The explanation given, then, is as follows:—

(1) Christians are aware from quite other reasons than those given by Spiritualists that the spiritual world is a fact, that it is inhabited by innumerable

personalities, good and bad, and that to many of these personalities—that is, to spirits that have never been incarnate—this world is perfectly accessible. On the one side are the unfallen angels of God, on the other the fallen; and this earth is to a large extent the battle-ground between these opposing forces. The object of the angels of light is to draw men nearer to God, to protect them from spiritual and even bodily dangers, and to help them towards heaven; the object of the angels of darkness is exactly the opposite.

Now the precise range of powers permitted to the evil angels has not been revealed to men; we know only that they are considerable, though limited; and we may at least conjecture that as it has been permitted in the past to the angels of light to assume a human appearance, so it is at any rate quite possible that the same power may be allowed to their adversaries. We know also as a positive fact that the evil angels are permitted under certain circumstances to obtain such a hold over men who yield to them as actually to *obsess* or *possess*[1] their powers and their will.

(2) Turning once more to the phenomena of Spiritualism, it is to be noticed that the Christian faith is continually assailed by those professed "benefactors" of man; that the mental powers or the morality of those who practise Spiritualism are extremely liable to decay; and further, that the process employed is one calculated to undermine almost imperceptibly the faith and morals of even those who approach the investigation with good intentions. In a word, it would seem that—if the alleged experiences are facts—they are designed with considerable skill to the carrying out of that very object which Catholics believe to be the aim of the spiritual enemies of man. Inquirers are met on their most tender side, the

[1] "Obsession" means the persecution of the human will or imagination; "possession," its more or less complete control by a discarnate spirit.

appeal is made to their highest human affections; they are led on by apparent proof after apparent proof to believe that they are actually in communication with those they once loved on earth. It would appear almost inevitable, then, that such inquirers should ultimately accept such teaching as they receive—and we have seen of what character that teaching is—as undeniable truth. For every man that is converted by Spiritualism to believe in the immortality of his soul, there are probably a hundred who are led by it to relinquish the beliefs and practices of Christianity.

Further evidence in support of the Catholic theory is found in the facts related above under the heading *Criticisms founded on observation.* The large proportion of fraud, both on the part of mediums and of the personalities that claim to communicate, the trifling and often mischievous tricks and evasions with which serious inquiry is so often met, the solemnity of the claim to shed light from the spiritual world upon the problems of this world, coupled with the extraordinary futility of the "revelations" so made, as well as the continual injuries inflicted upon the bodily and mental health of the mediums and the inquirers—all those considerations support very strongly the Catholic contention that the phenomena, if genuine, must be the work of the avowed spiritual enemies of the human race. Theologians emphasize this the more from the fact that in extreme cases of nervous or mental breakdown following upon the practices of Spiritualism, symptoms make their appearance identical with, or at least closely resembling, those which accompany undoubted cases of "possession"; and "possession," it must be remembered, has been familiar to Catholics for many centuries; its treatment finds a regular place in the Ritual and Exorcisms of the Church, and the fact of it is vouched for explicitly in the New Testament.

As regards the exact mode by which the genuine

phenomena—if they exist—are produced, Catholic theology offers no definite opinion. All that can be said is that an acceptance of the "astral" theory is not condemned. It is conceivable that there may be some such force or substance in the human constitution, but of this Catholic theology has no cognizance. It is a matter of psychical, or even physical science, rather than of theology or philosophy.

This, then, is the attitude of the Catholic Church towards Spiritualism:—

(1) She does not in any way commit herself to the acceptance of the phenomena. Yet she does not deny them, and allows fully for their possibility. Each claim stands or falls on its own proper evidence.

(2) So far as the alleged phenomena are genuine, the Catholic Church accounts for them by the action of evil discarnate spirits—called "fallen angels." She utterly rejects, therefore, their testimony, and warns her children against accepting it.

(3) She condemns in the gravest manner any attempt to communicate in this manner with the spiritual world, as contrary to the Divine Will.

(4) She leaves open—granted the genuineness of the phenomena—the mode in which such phenomena are accomplished.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

Modern Spiritism. By J. Godfrey Raupert. Kegan Paul, 1907.
The Dangers of Spiritualism. By J. Godfrey Raupert. Kegan Paul, 1906.
Sermons on Modern Spiritualism. By Rev. A. V. Miller. Kegan Paul, 1908.
Hypnotism and Spiritism. By Lapponi. Chapman & Hall, 1906.
The Unseen World. By Lepicier. Kegan Paul, 1906.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE

Edited by

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THE order followed in this paper will be slightly different from that observed in most other numbers of this series, partly because the religious history of the "Christian Science" movement has been very short; partly because its religious doctrines need no lengthy exposition. But besides this its claims to originality are based practically in their entirety upon the personal work achieved by its reputed Foundress, and it adopts a unique position as a religious system in which the *healing of the body* is put forward as an essential feature, and as one naturally and necessarily resulting from its peculiar method of regarding God and the universe, and the character of sin, suffering, and pain.

We shall therefore first of all place before the reader a clear statement of the chronology of the movement; we shall establish the position asserted to be hers by Mrs. Eddy; we shall describe the character and discuss the origin of her doctrines, and, in conclusion, offer some account of the Cures which have made the fortune of "Christian Science."

Mary Baker was born at Bow, New Hampshire, on July 16, 1821,[1] of an originally Scotch descent. At eight years old she

[1] These details are from the *Life of Mary Baker Eddy*, by her disciple, Sibyl Wilbur: New York, 1908.

hears "voices" calling her; she has mystical experiences, undergoes a religious crisis at twelve; quarrels on predestination with her Calvinist father, who declared to his clergyman, "if Mary Magdalene had seven devils, our Mary has ten." She grows up, however, in all piety and charm; "masters Greek, Latin, Hebrew, mental and moral philosophy"; quells a raving lunatic at a glance; and in 1843 marries George Washington Glover. He dies after a few months: her son is born; she falls sick of spinal weakness; develops interest in politics and spiritualism. In 1853 she contracted an unfortunate marriage with Mr. Patterson, a dentist (who misunderstood his mystic wife, and, in 1866, left her, on the grounds that he was "unworthy" of her). (The character of our sources absolutely precludes us from criticising, for good or ill, the incidents and personages of these episodes.) Sick herself, she began to work miracles; but in 1862 came into communication with Phineas P. Quimby, who, in that year, entirely cured her disease. She profoundly disconcerted him by her declaration that this cure was due to his peculiar union with God. She hesitated (in practice—as to her theories opinions differ) between religious, spiritualistic, and mesmeric interpretations of these and similar facts (indeed, she actually "simulated" some spirit-letters). In 1866 she had an appalling accident on the ice, but was miraculously cured (this was not her doctor's opinion, however). The principle of Christian Science was revealed to her. The next few years were passed in "germination and unfoldment"; she gradually explained to a few the "Science of Mind." In 1870 she starts definite classes, much helped financially by a young disciple, Richard Kennedy. Miracles and lawsuits follow: Kennedy and most of her other helpers are evicted. In 1873 she divorces Patterson, and determines to "have a Church of her own, some day." In 1875 *Science and Health* is published. In 1877 she "unexpectedly" marries Asa G. Eddy, which "sobers" for a time the "paroxysms" of rage and jealousy with which the infant community seethed. In 1878 the "Church" was founded in Boston; in 1879 a state charter recognized the "Church of Christ, Scientist." Mrs. Eddy was elected and ordained pastor, preached, prayed, instituted "silent realization" as a regular "opening ceremony." Rebellions, apostasies follow; Mr. Eddy, in 1882, dies "of arsenic," which, since the *post mortem* revealed no trace of it, must have been (who can deny it?) "mesmeric poison mentally administered" (p. 280). Mrs. Eddy wrote a "Eulogy" which Mrs. Choate delivered. In 1883 the *Journal of Christian Science* first appeared; the movement spread with extreme rapidity. In 1888 she legally adopted Dr. Ebenezer Johnson Foster as a son in place of her own: but in 1896 she will break off this connection. In 1889 she practically retired,

and indeed in 1890 dissolved the "National C. S. Association." In 1893 it was reorganized; churches rose on all sides: her home became a pilgrimage. In 1906, 40,000 Christian Scientists attended the consecration of the gigantic Mother Church at Boston. Mrs. Eddy died on December 4, 1910.

I. Mrs. Eddy

It is, in the first place, clear that Mrs. Eddy claims to be the original Foundress and, during her life, the Head of the movement known as *Christian Science*. Not only does she make her meaning perfectly clear in many passages of her *Miscellaneous Writings*,[1] but she defines and accounts for it in the authoritative manual of Christian Science, namely, *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*.[2] This book is read aloud, with the same marks of honour as the Scriptures, at every Christian Science Sunday service. Indeed, Mrs. Eddy, some years ago, in the plenitude of her powers as foundress, abolished all "pastors" in Christian Science churches, and appointed the Bible and her own book, *Science and Health*, to be the only pastor in their place. Here are the terms of the decree:

> Humbly, and, as I believe, divinely directed, I hereby ordain the Bible and Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures to be hereafter the only Pastor of the Church of Christ, Scientist, throughout our land, and in other lands.[3]

The same decree goes on to explain that the officials who conduct the services are to be called Readers, and it further lays down in detail the form the services shall take, not omitting to prescribe that "The Reader of Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures shall commence by announcing

[1] I quote from the 69th edition, 1906.

[2] I use the authoritative revision of 1906. The number of thousands previously printed is not here indicated on the title-page, but I understand the number to be between 300,000 and 400,000.

[3] Reprinted in *Miscellaneous Writings* (ed. 1906), p. 313.

the full title of this book with the name of its author, and add to this announcement—'The Christian Science Text-book.'" Mrs. Eddy disclaims any form of indebtedness to others. For example, she says:

> No person can take the individual place of the Virgin Mary. No person can compass or fulfil the individual mission of Jesus of Nazareth. No person can take the place of the author of *Science and Health*, the discoverer and founder of Christian Science. Each individual must fill his own niche in time and eternity. No one else can drain the cup which I have drunk to the dregs as the discoverer and teacher of Christian Science. . . . I should blush to write of *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures* as I have, were it of human origin, and I, apart from God, its author. But I was only a scribe echoing the harmonies of heaven in divine metaphysics.[1]

So again, in the 1906 edition of *Science and Health*, she repeats:

> No human pen or tongue taught me the Science contained in this book SCIENCE AND HEALTH, and neither tongue nor pen can ever overthrow it. The book may be distorted by shallow criticism or by careless or malicious students, and its ideas may be temporarily abused and misrepresented; but the Science and Truth therein will remain for ever to be discerned and demonstrated.[2]

Similarly, a page or two earlier she declares: "In the year 1866 I discovered the Christ Science or divine laws of Life, and named it Christian Science," and by way of emphasizing her statement she prefixes to the chapter of which these are the first words the text of St. Paul: "For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ."

Anyone, therefore, who does not accept Christian Science as preached by Mrs. Eddy, its discoverer, has no claim to be called a Christian Scientist. She asks:

[1] *Retrospection and Introspection*, p 95.
[2] *Science and Health*, p. 110.

Is there more than one school of Christian Science? Christian Science is indivisible. There can, therefore, be but one method in its teaching. Those who depart from this method forfeit their claims to belong to its school, and become simply adherents of the Socratic, the Platonic, the Spencerian, or some other school; by which is meant that they adopt and adhere to some particular system of human opinions.[1] Although these opinions may have occasional gleams of divinity, borrowed from that truly divine Science which eschews man-made systems, they nevertheless remain intensely human in their origin and tendency, and are not scientifically Christian.[2]

In view of this claim we must first of all define the relation in which Mrs. Eddy once conceived herself to stand to Dr. Quimby. It will be remembered that she first met him in 1862, and it will be observed that the two cardinal doctrines, as we shall see them to be, of her system—namely, that disease and human ills in general have no real existence, and that those phenomena are to be removed not by drugs or surgery, but by the influence of mind and prayer,—were already prominent features of his method, and attributed to him by Mrs. Eddy herself. These facts are made clear from documents quite recently made public property.[3]

In 1862, then, four years earlier than the date at which Mrs. Eddy has since said she discovered Christian Science, that lady, then married to her

[1] The context shows us that the word *human* is meant to be emphasized—human opinion as opposed to Mrs. Eddy's divinely inspired teaching.

[2] *Science and Health*, p. 112. Upon the fly-leaf is printed, with unconscious irony, the following motto:—

I, I, I, I itself, I,
The inside and outside, the what and the why,
The when and the where, the low and the high,
All I, I, I, I itself, I.

Not for nothing is Mrs. Eddy a fellow-countrywoman of Walt Whitman.

[3] By Georgine Milmine in *M'Clure's Magazine*, New York, 1907. These articles have since appeared in book form, as *The Life of Mary Baker G. Eddy and the History of Christian Science*, by Georgine Milmine, New York, 1909.

second husband, and consequently bearing the name of Patterson, wrote to the *Portland Courier*,[1] eulogizing in the most extravagant terms P. P. Quimby's extraordinary power to heal. "In less than a week," she says, "from the time that I first visited him I ascended by a stairway of 182 steps to the dome of the City Hall, and am improving *ad infinitum*." His method of healing, she goes on to explain, depends neither on spiritualism nor animal magnetism. She claims to speak with authority on the latter point because she had tried it. Such magnetism had done her no good because "*my operator believed in disease independent of mind*."[2] But now, under P. P. Quimby, she has learnt the error of her previous point of view.

> Now I can see, dimly at first, and only as trees walking, the great principle which underlies Dr. Quimby's faith and works; and just in proportion to my right perception of truth is my recovery. This truth, which he opposes to the error of giving intelligence to matter and placing pain where it never placed itself, if received understandingly, changes the currents of the system to their normal action and the mechanism of the body goes on undisturbed. That this is a science capable of demonstration, becomes clear to the minds of those patients who reason upon the process of their cure. The truth which he establishes in the patient cures him (although he may be wholly unconscious thereof), and the body, which is full of light, is no longer in disease. At present I am only too much in error to elucidate the truth, and can only touch the keynote for the master hand to wake the harmony.

Another newspaper of the same town openly ridiculed Mrs. Eddy's extravagant letter. "P. P. Quimby," it wrote, "compared to Jesus Christ! What next?" Thereupon Mrs. Eddy addressed a second letter to the *Courier* defending herself and more than reiterating her former statement.

> P. P. Quimby stands upon the plane of wisdom with his truth. Christ healed the sick, but not by jugglery or with drugs. As

[1] November 7, 1862. Milmine, *Life of Mary B. G. Eddy*, p. 59.

[2] This clearly implies that Dr. Quimby did *not* believe in disease independent of mind—in other words, he denied its objective reality.

the former speaks as never man before spake, and heals as never man healed since Christ, is he not identified with truth? And is not this the Christ which is in him? We know that in wisdom is life and "the life was the light of man." P. P. Quimby rolls away the stone from the sepulchre of error, and health is the resurrection. But we also know that light shineth in darkness and the darkness comprehendeth it not.[1]

Mrs. Eddy, according to all her then friends, several of whom are still living and have given testimony on the point, was at that time entirely devoted to Quimby. Moreover, she corresponded with him frequently, and the letters are still preserved by his son. For example, on January 12, 1863, she wrote:

> I am, to all who see me, a living wonder and a living monument of your power. . . . I eat, drink, and am merry, have no laws to fetter my spirit. . . . My explanation of *your curative principle* surprises people, especially those whose minds are all matter.

Further, in a letter dated January 31, 1863, she asks for what a Christian Scientist would now call "absent treatment," and she adds, "Please come to me and remove this pain." Writing to Quimby again, September 14, 1863, from Saco, Maine, Mrs. Eddy thanks him for his recent "angel visits" (*i.e.* absent treatments), remarking further, "I would like to have you in your omnipresence visit me at eight o'clock this evening," and she specifies the ailments she wants him to cure.

The evidence of this description is simply overwhelming. Mrs. Eddy addressed poems to Quimby, and after his death in 1866 she wrote an elegy published over her own name at the time and still preserved in her handwriting. It contains the lines:

> Can we forget the power that gave us life!
> Shall we forget the wisdom of its way?
> Then ask me not amid this mortal strife,
> This keenest pang of animated clay,

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[1] Milmine, *Life*, p. 60.

To mourn him less. To mourn him more were just,
If to his memory 'twere a tribute given
For every solemn, sacred, earnest trust
Delivered to *us* ere he rose to heaven.[1]

Moreover, it is plain that Mrs. Eddy identified herself with Quimby's "Science" in public lectures. In one of her letters to him she remarks:

Posted at the public marts of this city is this notice—"Mrs. M. M. Patterson [*i.e.* Mrs. Eddy] will lecture at the Town Hall on P. P. Quimby's Spiritual Science healing disease, as opposed to Deism or Rochester Rapping Spiritualism."[2]

What perhaps is most striking of all, we have independent evidence of the nature of Quimby's procedure; first, in a printed circular used by him from 1860 to his death, and secondly in the book of a Mr. W. F. Evans, who also had been a pupil of Quimby's. The first is too long to quote, but Quimby explains how he administers no drugs and makes no outward application: "The Truth is the Cure." As regards the second we may quote from Mr. Evans' volume, printed in 1872, three years before the appearance of the first edition of Mrs. Eddy's *Science and Health*, the following remarks:

Disease being in its root a wrong belief, in the sense explained above, change that belief and we cure the disease. By faith we are thus made whole. There is a law here the world will some time understand and use in the cure of the diseases that afflict mankind. The late Dr. Quimby of Portland, Maine, one of the most successful healers of this or any other age, embraced this view of the nature of disease, and by a long succession of the most remarkable cures, effected by psychopathic remedies, at the same time proved the truth of the theory and the efficiency of that mode of treatment.[3]

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[1] Reproduced in facsimile in *M'Clure's Magazine*, February, 1907, p. 353. The present writer is responsible for the italics.

[2] For all these facts see Milmine, *Life*, pp. 61–70.

[3] Evans, *Mental Medicine*, pp. 209–210. *Cf.* Dresser, *Health and the Inner Life*, p. 117.

In view of this evidence it is extraordinary that we should ever find Mrs. Eddy writing as follows:

We never [she wrote] were a student of Dr. Quimby's. . . . We were one of his patients. . . . We knew him about twenty years ago, and aimed to help him. We saw that he was looking in our direction, and asked him to write his thoughts out. He did so, and then we would take that copy to correct and sometimes so transform it that he would say it was our composition, which it virtually was.[1]

This was written in 1883, and only a little later we find Mrs. Eddy declaring still more emphatically:

The old gentleman (Quimby) to whom we have referred had some very advanced views on healing, but he was not avowedly religious, neither scholarly. We interchanged thoughts on the subject of healing the sick. I restored some patients of his that he failed to heal, and left in his possession some manuscripts of mine containing corrections of his desultory pennings.[2]

When confronted with her enthusiastic letters, reproduced in the "Dresser Pamphlet," she can only declare she must have been hypnotized when she wrote them:

Did I write those articles purporting to be mine? [she asks in the *Boston Post*, March 7, 1883]. I might have written them twenty or thirty years ago, for I was under the mesmeric treatment of Dr. Quimby from 1862 until his death. . . . My head was so turned by animal magnetism[3] and will power under treatment, that I might have written something as hopelessly incorrect as the articles now published in the Dresser pamphlet. I was not healed until after the death of Mr. Quimby; and then healing came as the result of my discovery in 1866 of the science of mind healing, since named Christian Science.[4]

This surmise, which will win credence only with difficulty, cannot rebut the evidence that Mrs. Eddy learnt the doctrines she afterwards exploited from her former friend, Dr. Quimby.

[1] Milmine, *Life*, p. 96.
[2] *Science and Health*, 1884 ed. Milmine, *Life*, p. 97.
[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 6, where she explicitly denies that Quimby treated her by "animal magnetism."
[4] Powell, *Christian Science, the Faith and the Founder*, Boston, 1907, p. 36.

II. The Doctrines of Christian Science

We can now explain in greater detail the doctrines of Christian Science as preached by Mrs. Eddy. The incident from which the movement started was as follows.[1]

In the February of the year 1866, just one month after the death of P. P. Quimby, Mrs. Eddy had a bad fall through slipping on the frozen road-way. No bones seemed to be broken, but as she remained for a long time insensible, and complained subsequently of great internal suffering, a homœopathic doctor who was summoned thought that there might be concussion, or possibly some spinal dislocation. The doctor prescribed for her, but Mrs. Eddy declares she was no better until two days afterwards she "lifted her heart to God," and read in her Bible the story of the healing of the paralytic. In that moment she believed that she passed through some wonderful spiritual experience. God said to her, "Daughter, arise"; she arose, dressed, and walked into the next room, to the astonishment and almost to the consternation of the persons assembled there.[2] This is how Mrs. Eddy herself refers to the incident in *Science and Health:*

> In the year 1866 I discovered the Christ Science, or divine laws of Life, and named it Christian Science. God had been graciously fitting me, during many years, for the reception of a final revelation of the absolute divine Principle of scientific being and healing. . . .
>
> When apparently near the confines of mortal existence, standing already within the shadow of the death-valley, I learned these truths in divine Science: that all real being is in God, the divine Mind, and that Life, Truth, and Love are all-powerful

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[1] The accounts given by Mrs. Eddy of the history of her discovery vary much (see on this Milmine, *Life*, pp. 76–87). What is given above seems to be the latest and final version.

[2] See Wilbur, *The Life of Mary B. Eddy*, 1908, pp, 130, 131

and ever-present; that the opposite of Truth—called error,[1] sin, sickness, disease, death—is the false testimony of false material sense, of life in matter; that this false sense evolves, in belief, a subjective state of mortal mind which this same so-called mind names *matter*, thereby shutting out the true sense of spirit.[2]

My discovery that erring, mortal, misnamed *mind* produces all the organism and action of the mortal body, set my thoughts to work in new channels and led up to my demonstration of the proposition that Mind is All and matter is nought, as the leading factor in Mind-Science.

Christian Science reveals incontrovertibly that Mind is All-in-all, that the only realities are the divine Mind and idea. This great fact is not, however, seen to be supported by sensible evidence until its divine Principle is demonstrated by healing the sick and thus proven absolute and divine. This proof once seen, no other conclusion can be reached.[3]

Although these things now came home to Mrs. Eddy with the force of a new revelation, it remains that even the philosophical ideas underlying the method she now adopted were inherited and not discovered by her. Dr. Quimby's literary remains, now accessible in H. W. Dresser's *Health and the Inner Life*, and the writings of Mr. W. F. Evans, make this certain. Mr. Evans, like Mrs. Eddy, had been in intimate relation with Quimby, and like her he

[1] Note again this Quimbian formula. Quimby repeatedly declares that all sickness is error. He also was an idealist, though differing in some minor details from Mrs. Eddy's later presentment of her views.

[2] How very much Mrs. Eddy has absorbed of Dr. Quimby's ideas can only be appreciated by those who will peruse the extracts from his manuscripts and letters collected in Mr. H. W. Dresser's *Health and the Inner Life*. Here, for instance, is a sentence from a letter addressed by Dr. Quimby to the *Portland Advertiser*, February 13, 1862, and consequently before he had made Mrs. Eddy's acquaintance:

"Now I deny disease as a truth, but admit it as a deception, started, like all other stories, without any foundation, and handed down from generation to generation until the people believe it, and it has become part of their lives. So they live a lie, and their senses are in it." Dresser, *l.c.*, p. 58.

[3] *Science and Health* (1906), pp. 107–109. It is not merely a fancy of my own that this is an authoritative exposition of the great discovery of February 1866. The greater part of the above passage is quoted by S. Wilbur in her enthusiastic *Life of Mrs. Eddy*, a Life written with official sanction and assistance.

also devoted himself for the rest of his days to the healing of disease without drugs or manipulation. The reader may have noticed in the extract last quoted the stress laid upon the fact that Mind or God is "All" or "All-in-all." The same idea occurs repeatedly in *Science and Health*—for example, in the important summary of propositions at the end of chapter x., where the side-note reads "Allness of Spirit";[1] or, again, where the author states:[2] "Allness is the measure of the infinite, and nothing else can express God." Now, in Mr. Evans' book, *The Mental Cure*, first printed in 1869 (*i.e.* six years before the appearance of *Science and Health*), and dealing with the same subject from a slightly different standpoint, we meet the following. It occurs, moreover, in a paragraph described in the chapter summary as "the allness of God":

> God is all in all, but all things are not God. All things, singular and together, are finite or limited, and the finite cannot be the infinite. . . . He is an infinite Man and we are men by virtue of our derivation and conception from Him. But His divine life goes forth everywhere. The sphere of His love and wisdom extend beyond the bounds of creation. The universe of mind and matter is but its ultimation or visible manifestation. The divine being is in all things the least and the greatest, but in the human soul in the highest degree.[3]

An even more striking point of resemblance between Mr. Evans' book of 1869 and Mrs. Eddy's *Science and Health* of 1875, is the prominence given by both to the idea thus worded by Mrs. Eddy, that "Spirit—the synonym of Mind, Soul, or God—is substance; that is, the only real substance."[4] Thus she asks

[1] *Science and Health* (1906), p. 331.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 336.

[3] Evans, *The Mental Cure* (ed. 1870), p. 21. I quote from an edition published in Glasgow in 1870, apparently a verbatim reprint of that which appeared in America the year before.

[4] *Science and Health* (1906), p. 468; and p. 335, "Spirit is the only substance, the invisible and indivisible God." Compare also with this the last words of Mr. Evans in the quotation which follows.

the question, "What is substance?" and answers it: "That only which is eternal and incapable of discord and decay. Truth, Life, and Love are substance."[1] Now Mr. Evans, the avowed disciple of Quimby, had written as follows six years earlier:

> We have seen that God is the Central Life, the first and only life. All life in the universe is a derivation from Him, and a manifestation or modification of this primal vital force. But His life is love. Hence His love is the first and only substance, whence all other substances emanate. Everything, from the atom to the world, from the animalcule to the angel, has the root of its being in Him. . . . The divine love is not a mere idea or an emotion, but a substance from which by creative influx has gone forth all other being. If we can accustom ourselves to think of Love and Wisdom in God, and will and understanding in man, as substance, an important point will be gained. But we must carefully subtract from our conception of that substance all the properties or forces of matter, such as divisibility, impenetrability, or weight.[2]

Whether Mrs. Eddy had read and borrowed from Evans' *Mental Cure*, or whether both Evans and Mrs. Eddy were echoing Quimby, it is not easy to say, but parallels such as these in books whose general subject-matter was identical seem to suggest that even the philosophical ideas of Christian Science did not entirely originate in the brain of the foundress.[3] Further, the term "Christian Science" itself occurs in two

[1] *Ibid.*; *cf.* p. 301: "The universal and Spiritual man is really substantial and reflects the eternal substance or Spirit, which mortals hope for."

[2] *The Mental Cure* (ed. 1870), p. 26. Mr. Evans seems to have been a Swedenborgian.

[3] Mr. Evans' *Mental Cure* is in many ways an excellent book, vastly superior to Mrs. Eddy's in general scholarship and clearness of exposition. He followed it up with many others upon the same subject. The parallels between the *Mental Cure* and *Science and Health* are by no means exhausted by those I have pointed out. For example, every reader of Mrs. Eddy will remember how constantly she comes back to the idea that our Lord's "casting out devils" was "casting out evils" (see, *e.g.*, *Science and Health*, pp. 494, 584, etc.). Six years before this Mr. Evans had written: "to cure disease is to cast out devils" (*Mental Cure*, p. 117); and he speaks elsewhere (p. 292) of "the term improperly rendered devils by King James's translators."

places in the writings of Quimby, though he lays no particular stress upon it.

Mrs. Eddy therefore considers herself to have discovered in 1866 that Mind is All, and Matter nought, and disease a delusion. It logically follows that, provided the mind grasps this truth, it can abolish the disease of which it has falsely believed itself to be conscious. Mrs. Eddy becomes the prophet of her new creed. "For three years after my discovery," Mrs. Eddy informs us, "I searched the Scriptures, read little else; kept aloof from society, and devoted time and energies to discovering a positive rule."[1] She began to take patients, and gathered around her a student or two to whom she imparted her method of healing. Three surviving members of a household with whom she resided for two years between 1866 and 1870 declare positively that at this time she still traced everything to Quimby, and "talked Quimby until every one grew dead tired of hearing of him."[2] However, she had formed a grand design of putting the theory into a book, and all her energies were now turned towards finding some one to finance her.[3]

Mrs. Eddy in the autumn of 1870 took up her residence with two students, Sarah Bagley and Richard Kennedy, the latter of whom was a young man of some means. She taught them her Science of healing, and prepared some tractates dealing with the subject, one of which was copyrighted in 1870, but not

[1] *Science and Health* (1906), p. 109.

[2] See Lyman Powell, *Christian Science*, p. 72. These facts do not depend upon the bare recollection of the individuals in question. Mrs. Eddy taught her hostess, a Mrs. Wentworth, the process of healing without medicine, and in teaching her used a manuscript which she allowed her pupil to copy. The copy still exists in Mrs. Wentworth's handwriting. Now the tractate is almost word for word identical with a Quimby manuscript in the handwriting of Quimby's wife, which is dated February 1862, *i.e.* eight months before Mrs. Eddy first met Quimby (see Powell, *ibid.*). Facsimiles in *M'Clure's Magazine* and Milmine, *Life*, p. 128.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 71; *cf.* Wilbur, *Life*, p. 194.

published until later.[1] In 1873 she divorced her second husband, Dr. Daniel Patterson, from whom she had been for some time separated. Meanwhile, there was great coming and going among the little knot of male and female students whom she gathered round her, for she seems to have cast sufficient spell over her *entourage* to inspire many of them with acute jealousy when she showed favour to one or another of the group to the prejudice of the rest. Kennedy parted from her in 1872. Her book, *Science and Health*, was eventually published in 1875 with the help of a Mr. Spofford, then her pupil in "metaphysical healing," but afterwards prosecuted by her for "witchcraft," the statutory offence which came nearest to her real charge of "malicious animal magnetism." This Mr. Spofford had been the first treasurer of the "Christian Scientist Association," formed in 1876, which was the germ of the present Christian Science Church. Mrs. Eddy's own account of this further development runs thus:

> At a meeting of the Christian Scientist Association on April 19, 1879, it was voted to organize a church to commemorate the words and works of our Master, a Mind-healing church without a creed, to be called the Church of Christ, Scientist, the first such church ever organized. The charter for this church was obtained in June 1879, and during the same month the members, twenty-six in number, extended a call to me to become their pastor. I accepted the call, and was ordained in 1881, though I had preached five years before being ordained.[2]

This church was afterwards dissolved, and it may be said here once for all that it would be impossible

[1] This is supposed to be the same as the chapter called "Recapitulation" in *Science and Health*, pp. 465-497 (ed. 1906); but, in point of fact, it differs considerably, as anyone will see who compares the "Recapitulation" of 1881 (3rd edit. I. pp. 167–185) with the 1906 edition. For example, to the first question, "What is God?" the answer in 1881 was: "Jehovah is not a person. God is Principle." The answer now is: "God is divine Principle, supreme incorporeal Being, Mind, Spirit, Soul, Life, Truth, Love."

[2] Eddy, *Retrospection and Introspection* (ed. 1906), p. 62.

for anyone who has not studied the records closely to have any conception of the atmosphere of intrigue and petty chicanery in which all the early history of this association seems to be involved. The marriage of the foundress to one of the band, Mr. Asa G. Eddy, in 1877 seems to have been a central factor in all these stirs.[1] Peace was only established among the association of Christian Scientists when Mrs. Eddy at last found a circle of coadjutors who were willing to render obedience to her masterful will. From that time forth she has been more than the pope of the organization which she has created, and the present writer, for one, is tempted to infer the probability of a very close relation between the psychic force which seems to have effected so many remarkable bodily cures and the dominant personality capable of this great enterprise—an enterprise always conducted, it appears, on the soundest business lines.

In a quotation from Mrs. Eddy's *Retrospection* given a little above, that lady describes the nascent organization as a "church without a creed." Yet the Christian Science Text-book, *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*, provides creed, ritual, and manual of theology all in one. I have already insisted upon the sanctions under which its acceptance is enforced, but I may here add that in her *Miscellaneous Writings* Mrs. Eddy speaks as follows of the great work of which she claims to be the author:

> Centuries will intervene before the statement of the inexhaustible topics of that book become (*sic*) sufficiently understood

[1] Mr. Powell states that though Mrs. Eddy was then fifty-six, her age was given as forty in the marriage licence. The bridegroom himself was forty (see also Milmine, *Life*, p. 175). Curiously enough, we find Mrs. Eddy writing two years earlier, in the first edition of *Science and Health* (p. 215): "Never record years and keep time-tables of births and deaths if you would preserve the full faculties of womanhood and manhood." Mrs. Eddy holds that that *is*, which man—or woman—thinks to be, and the principle is as convenient in questions of age as in those of disease.

to be absolutely demonstrated. The teacher of Christian Science needs continually to study this Text-book. His work is to replenish thought and to spiritualize human life from this open fount of Truth and Love. . . . When closing his class the teacher should require each member to own a copy of the above-named book[1] and to continue the study of this text-book. The opinions of men cannot be substituted for God's revelation. It must not be forgotten that in times past, arrogant ignorance and pride, in attempting to steady the ark of Truth, have dimmed the power and glory of the Scriptures, to whlch this Christian Science text-book is the Key.[2]

It will already have been noticed that the author declares that "if one of the statements in this book is true, every one must be true,"[3] yet the exposition of Christian Science belief preserved in the early editions of *Science and Health* was considerably modified in the latter issues. I refer in particular to a certain "Platform of Christian Scientists," drawn up by Mrs. Eddy in 1877,[4] and afterwards reprinted with extensive alterations, as part of the chapter upon the "Science of Being."[5] The following are the opening paragraphs of the original version:

PLATFORM OF CHRISTIAN SCIENTISTS

I. That God is supreme, the only Life, Substance and Intelligence of the Universe and man; that there is neither a personal Deity, a personal devil, nor a personal man.

II. That God is Principle and not person, Mind and not matter: that this Principle is what the Scripture declares it, namely Life, Truth and Love.

III. That God, which is the perfect Mind or Principle, including the perfect idea, is all that is real or eternal.

IV. That God is Spirit, and Spirit is infinite; and there is but one Spirit, because there can be but one *infinite*, and there is but one God.

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[1] It costs 14s. or more, according to binding; three quarters of this is pure profit, and the proceeds went to Mrs. Eddy.

[2] *Miscellaneous Writings* (69th edition, 1906), p. 92. *Cf ibid.*, p. 114, and pp. 314, 315, 364, 382, 383.

[3] See above, p. 3.

[4] See preface to 3rd edition of *Science and Health*, i. p. xii

[5] *Science and Health* (1906), p. 330.

V. That Spirit is the only substance, even "the substance of things to be hoped for and the evidence of things not seen." The spiritual and eternal are substance, whereas the material and temporal are not substance.[1]

This "Platform" further states that God "cannot be person," for "if the eternal Intelligence or Mind started from personality it would be a limited mind and could not be infinite." Similarly it is laid down in § x., "There never was a material idea or personal man"; and again, § xiii., "A personal God, a personal man, a personal devil, and evil and good spirits are theological mythoplasm, mere beliefs that must finally yield to the opposite science of God and man."

It can scarcely be denied that this "Church" has a very definite "creed," though here it is a purely Pantheistic one. Later on, however, Mrs. Eddy revised her beliefs, or at least insinuated that this denial of a "personal" God was but a condescension to the prevailing ignorance of philosophical language, and indeed repudiates the charge of Pantheism with indignation. "As the words *person* and *personal*," she says, "are commonly and ignorantly employed, they often lead, when applied to Deity, to confused and erroneous conceptions of divinity, and its distinction from humanity."[2]

The charge of Pantheism prompts her to remark that Pantheism is derived from two Greek words meaning all and God; also that Roman mythology was one of her favourite "girlhood studies," and that Roman mythology has much to say regarding the god Pan, who "is supposed to preside over sylvan

[1] *Science and Health* (3rd edition, 1881), vol. ii. pp. 192–195.

[2] *Science and Health* (1906), p. 116. It is curious that Mrs. Eddy is constantly harping upon this question of personality in her later utterances, evidently with the desire to set herself right with her critics. Her idea seems to have been that the word *person* implies something anthropomorphic. See *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 307–310, and *Retrospection* (1906 edition), pp. 99, 100. *Cf.* Lect. XXXV. 12.

solitudes." The suggestion that Christian Science is pantheistic is ridiculous, because

Christian Science *is* science, and therefore is neither hypothetical, nor dogmatical, but demonstrable, and looms above the mists of Pantheism higher than Mount Ararat above the deluge.[1]

We may be pardoned a short digression intended to show the fickle nature of Mrs. Eddy's inspiration. The "Platform of Christian Scientists" was prepared by her in 1877 as a summary, in only nineteen paragraphs, of the most important heads of Christian Science teaching. It was used in her instructions to her pupils for several years, and was printed in 1881 and in subsequent editions, until it was replaced (about 1891, I think) by a very much modified version. The original form of the sixteenth section reads as follows:

XVI. The word "Adam" signifies "original sin," "error," and not man. "Adam" is from the Latin *demens*, meaning "madness" (*sic*), "to undo," "to spoil." The word should read as rendered, A damn. The Scripture plainly declares Adam accursed, yet our translators have as plainly declared the word and the curse a man, and this man to have originated in dust instead of deity! The eternal "Us," or "I" made man in the "image and likeness of God." A curse was not this likeness. A limited mind or a limited body, a limited sinner or a limited saint, is not the likeness of Infinity.[2]

In the latest and modified edition the passage stands:

The word *Adam* is from the Hebrew *adamah*, signifying the *red colour of the ground*, *dust*, *nothingness*. Divide the name Adam into two syllables and it reads *a dam*, or obstruction.

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[1] See Mrs. Eddy's little pamphlet or address entitled *Christian Science versus Pantheism*, p. 5, which, like all her other works, has gone through many editions. The reader will find that the only argument which the address contains to prove that the teaching of Christian Science is not pantheistic is represented by the few words quoted above. All the rest of the tract deals with Pan and other topics equally relevant.

[2] *Science and Health*, 3rd edition, vol. ii. p. 196.

This suggests the thought of something fluid, of mortal mind in solution; it further suggests the thought of that "darkness upon the face of the deep" when matter or dust was deemed the agent of Deity in creating man,—when matter stood opposed to spirit as that which is accursed. Here *a dam* is not a mere play upon words, for it means much. It illustrates the separation of man from God, and the obstacle the serpent, sin, would impose between man and his Creator. The dissection and definition of words, aside from their metaphysical derivation, is not scientific.[1]

Mrs. Eddy later says, in the same volume—reassuring the unaccustomed student as to the reliability of her exegetic and etymological powers:

Why Genesis and Revelations in the Scriptures seem more obscure than other portions is because they are more impossible to interpret from a material standpoint. To me they are the transparencies of the Bible.

Then after referring by implication to her exposition of Genesis as "the full maturity of metaphysics," Mrs. Eddy resumes:

When a single statement of our metaphysics is proven, every one is proven; for each one will be found to correspond with the Principle of metaphysics when this Principle is understood. If we have given to you, dear readers, as you all can prove on learning it, the science of metaphysics in healing the sick, we also have given you the correct metaphysical version of the foregoing texts.[2]

We may add another specimen of Mrs. Eddy's exegesis:

Genesis i. 12. *And the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit whose seed was in itself, after his kind: and God saw that it was good.*

God determines the gender of His own ideas. Gender consists of Mind not matter. The seed within itself is the pure thought emanating from divine Mind. The feminine gender

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[1] *Science and Health*, p. 338. In discussing this subject later (p. 525), Mrs. Eddy finds it necessary to refer to the meaning of "the term *man*" in Saxon (*sic*), Welsh, Hebrew, and Icelandic.

[2] *Science and Health*, 1881, ii. 142.

is not yet expressed in the text. *Gender* simply means *kind* or *sort*, and does not necessarily refer to either masculinity or femineity; for the word is not confined to sexuality, and grammars always recognise a neuter gender, neither male nor female. The divine Mind—that is, the intelligence of production, whereof spiritual ideas are the expression—names the female gender last in the ascending order of creation. The intelligent individual idea, be it male or female, unfolds the infinitude of Love as it rises from the lesser to the greater.[1]

It will be observed that Mrs. Eddy bases her reflection that the "feminine gender is not yet expressed in the text" upon the assumption that the masculine *is*; this can only rest upon the supposition that the Elizabethan *his* [kind] is masculine. Of course the word *its* (R.V.) was, in Elizabethan English, hardly in use. The Douay editions gave first *his*, then *its*.

Regarding woman's place "in the ascending order of creation," we have a further illustration of Mrs. Eddy's ideas in her comments on Genesis iii. 12:

> Truth cross-questioning man as to his knowledge of error finds woman the first to confess her fault. She says: "The serpent beguiled me and I did eat." . . . She has already learnt that corporeal man is the serpent. Hence she is the first to abandon the belief in the material origin of man, and to discern spiritual creation. This hereafter enables woman to be the mother of Jesus, and to behold at the sepulchre the risen Saviour—soon to manifest the deathless man of God's creating. This enables woman [*i.e.* Mrs. Eddy] to be the first to interpret the Scriptures in their true sense, which reveal the spiritual origin of man.[2]

In the *Miscellaneous Writings* there is a section entitled "Questions and Answers," being replies which Mrs. Eddy has returned in the *Christian Science Journal* to difficulties submitted to her. One of these is short enough to quote:

[1] *Science and Health* (1906), p. 508. It is perhaps worth noting that this is the whole of the commentary upon the verse, printed without any omissions.

[2] *Science and Health*, p. 533.

Question. Do you believe in translation?
Answer. If your question refers to language whereby one expresses the sense of words in one language by equivalent words in another, I do. If you refer to the removal of a person to heaven, without his subjection to death, I modify my affirmative answer. I believe in this removal being possible after all the footsteps requisite have been taken up to the very throne, up to the spiritual sense and fact of divine Substance, Intelligence, Life, and Love. This translation is not the work of moments; it requires both time and eternity. It means more than mere disappearance to the human sense; it must include also man's changed appearance and diviner form visible to those beholding him here.[1]

A feature in the ritual of Christian Science is the recitation of the phrases of the Lord's Prayer alternately with sentences from Mrs. Eddy. Her elucidations of 1881 were, however, far from irreformable; it now runs:

Our Father which art in Heaven,
Our Father-Mother God, all harmonious,
Hallowed be Thy name.
Adorable one.
Thy Kingdom come.
Thy Kingdom is within us, Thou art ever present.
Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven.
Enable us to know,—as in Heaven, so on earth,—God is omnipotent, supreme.
Give us this day our daily bread;
Give us grace for to-day; feed the famished affections;
And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors;
And Love is reflected in love;
And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.
And God leadeth us not into temptation, but delivereth us from sin, disease, and death.
For thine is the Kingdom, and the power, and the glory for ever.
For God is infinite, all-Power, all-Life, Truth, Love, over all and All.

When Mrs. Eddy, in 1881, stated, "The following is the spiritual signification of the Lord's Prayer," her views were different. For example, "Thy will

[1] *Miscellaneous Writings*, p. 67

be done," etc., then meant: "*And when this supremacy of Spirit shall appear, the dream of matter will disappear*"; while in 1891 "Forgive us our debts," etc., signified: "*Truth will destroy the chains of error.*"[1]

It may be doubted how definite a meaning is, indeed, to be attached to Mrs. Eddy's words. No less than when she is dealing with ritual and devotion, when she touches on the primary conceptions of her "metaphysics" her show of meaning is surely as illusory as the Emperor's clothes in the fairy-tale. Thus:

The fundamental propositions of Divine Metaphysics are summarized in the four following, to me, *self-evident* propositions. Even if reversed, these propositions will be found to agree in statement and proof, showing mathematically their exact relation to Truth.[2] De Quincey says mathematics has not a foot to stand upon which is not purely metaphysical.[3]

1. God is All in all.
2. God is good. Good is Mind.
3. God, Spirit, being all, nothing is matter.
4. Life, God, omnipotent good, deny death, evil, sin, disease —disease, sin, evil, death, deny good, omnipotent God, Life.

Which of the denials in proposition four is true? Both are not, cannot be true. According to the Scripture, I find that God is true "but every [mortal] man is a liar."

The Divine Metaphysics of Christian Science, like the method in mathematics, proves the rule by inversion.[4] For example: there is no pain in Truth, and no truth in pain; no nerve in Mind, and no mind in nerve; no matter in Mind, and

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[1] *Science and Health* (1891), p. 322.

[2] What conceivable meaning can attach to this sentence? Does Mrs. Eddy mean by the word *agree* that these propositions coincide with one another, or that they are consistent, or only that they are equally reliable? Again, what is the point of saying that they agree in statement as well as in proof? And what after all *is* the proof of these "self-evident" propositions? or how can it be called mathematical?

[3] The accuracy of this remark of De Quincey's may or may not be matter for argument, but what is its relevance here?

[4] A study of Mrs. Eddy's phraseology convinces me that when she speaks of "mathematics" she always means simple arithmetic. No other branch of the science appears to have been known to her. "The method in mathematics" appears to allude to the practice of proving the correctness of your result, in an addition sum, by adding up the figures in reverse order.

no mind in matter; no matter in Life, and no life in matter; no matter in Good, and no good in matter.[1]

III. Christian Science "Fruitage"

In Mrs. Eddy's creed the healings of physical disease are represented to be normal and not miraculous. In fact, the prospective convert is taught that if he fails to "demonstrate the Science" by healing, this is a mark that he has not as yet understood it, or else that there is something morally wanting either in the would-be healer or in his patient.[2] Mrs. Eddy makes these cures the ground of her claims to inspiration.[3]

Christian Science [she writes] is dawning upon a material age. The great spiritual facts of being, like rays of light, shine in the darkness, though the darkness, comprehending them not, may deny their reality. The proof that the system herein stated [she is referring to her Scriptural exegesis of Genesis, the Apocalypse, the name Adam, etc.] is Christianly scientific resides in the good it accomplishes; for it cures on a divine demonstrable Principle which all may understand.

If mathematics should present a thousand different examples of one rule, the proving of one example would authenticate all the others. A simple statement of Christian Science, if demonstrated by healing, contains the proof of all here said of it. If

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[1] *Science and Health*, 1906, p. 113.

[2] *Cf.*, *e.g.*, such a passage as the following: "No man is physically healed in sin, or by it, any more than he is morally saved in or by sin. To be every whit whole, he must be better spiritually as well as physically. To be made whole we must forsake the mortal sense of things, turn from the lie of false belief to Truth, and gather the facts of being from the immortal Divine Mind." *Science and Health* (1906), p. 370. Cf. *Miscellaneous Writings* (1906), p. 247.

[3] She says she has healed a crushed foot instantaneously (*Science and Health* (56th edition, 1891), p. 88); has raised the dying (*Science and Health* (1906), p. 373); has "effected the cure, through mental surgery alone, of dislocated hip-joints and spinal vertebræ" (*ibid.*, p. 402). Letters from patients professing total or partial cure are printed in the *Christian Science Sentinel*, etc. A large selection of these, under the heading "Fruitage," serves as an appendix to the recent editions of *Science and Health*. Mr. Stephen Paget, however, shows that many of these have been very much "edited."

one of the statements in this book is true, every one must be true, for not one departs from its system and rule. You can prove for yourself, dear reader, the Science of Healing, and so ascertain if the author has given you the correct interpretation of Scripture.[1]

This, it will be seen, amounts to a claim to infallibility based upon the truth of the cures of Christian Science; and the same line of argument recurs perpetually. For example, we read:

Christian Science must be accepted at this period by induction. We admit the whole, because a part is proven, and that part illustrates and proves the entire principle.[2]

Or again:[3]

Sin, sickness and disease flee before the evangel of Truth as the mountain mists before the sun. Truth is the tonic for the sick, and this medicine of mind is not necessarily infinitesimal but infinite.[4]

We are very far indeed from impugning the good faith of those who declare themselves cured. Nor do we deny that modern science is allowing more and more to the play of mysterious natural forces, and to the domain of hysteria. Still, in each case we must go by the available evidences. A distinguished investigator, after examining these, in the case of Christian Science, says:

It is plain, from these evidences, and from the previous chapter, that Christian Science accepts all testimonials, even the most fantastical and illiterate. That she embellishes what she publishes.[5] That she evades investigation. That her

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[1] *Science and Health* (1906), p. 547.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 461; and *cf. ibid.*, pp. 354, 355, p. 341.

[3] *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 247, 252, etc.

[4] The reader will perhaps recall how Dr. Quimby in his circular printed in 1860, two years before he met Mrs. Eddy, insists, as a kind of keynote of his system, upon the phrase "the Truth is the Cure." See above, p. 8; and more fully in H. W. Dresser, *Health and the Inner Life*, pp. 30, 32 *seq.*

[5] Mr. Paget refers for further evidence on this point to Dr. Cabot's paper in *M'Clure's Magazine*, August 1908, and to the pamphlet *The Los Angeles Case.*

claim to cure organic diseases breaks down under the most elementary rules of criticism. That she does cure "functional" diseases. That she has never cured, nor ever will, any disease, except those which have been cured, a hundred thousand times, by "mental therapeutics." From the setting up of the brazen serpent in the wilderness, and the works of healing in the temples of Æsculapius, mankind has used, for better for worse, mental therapeutics. We live and move under suggestion, and are suggested from our cradles to our graves.[1]

Mrs. Eddy, however, not only proclaims the reality of the cures, but asserts that they prove "every statement of her metaphysics" (*supr.* p. 20), and indeed that without these metaphysics the cures are impossible.

Once let the mental physician believe in the reality of matter, and he must admit also the reality of all its discordant conditions, and this prevents his destroying them. Then he is even less fitted for the treatment of disease than the ordinary medical practitioner.[2]

Or again:

It is mental quackery to make disease a reality, to hold it as something seen and felt, and then attempt its cure through Mind. It is no less erroneous to believe in the real existence of a tumour, a cancer, or decayed lungs, while you argue against their reality, than it is for your patient to feel these ills in physical. Such practice fastens disease on the patient, and it will reappear in some other more alarming form.[3]

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[1] *The Faith and Works of Christian Science*, by the Author of *Confessio Medici*, London, 1909, pp. 165, 166. The writer of this book is now known to be Mr. Stephen Paget, F.R.C.S., throat and ear specialist to the Middlesex Hospital. He is the son of a distinguished surgeon, the late Sir James Paget, and he is also brother of the Bishop of Stepney.

[2] *Science and Health* (1906), p. 369.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 395. *Cf.* pp. 376, 393, 394, 400, 401, 494. However, Mrs. Eddy now says: "Until the advancing age admits the efficacy and supremacy of Mind, it is better to leave surgery and the adjustment of broken bones and dislocations to the fingers of a surgeon, while you confine yourself chiefly to mental reconstruction and the prevention of inflammation. Christian Science is always the most skilful surgeon, but surgery is the branch of its healing which will be last acknowledged."

Except, however, in the explanation provided for them, Christian Science cures do not seem to differ from those which other modern movements, especially in America, claim to produce; and these are by no means founded on Mrs. Eddy's "metaphysics," nor, in some cases, on religious considerations at all. We may mention a few of them.

John Alexander Dowie, born 1847 in Scotland, became a Congregationalist minister in Australia. Cured miraculously at the age of thirty-two, he started himself on a career of "divine healing," founded an "Independent Tabernacle" at Melbourne in 1882, prudently retired to America in 1888, settled in Chicago in 1890. There in 1896 his "Divine Healing Association" became the "Christian Catholic Church"; by 1899 he could boast of having spent over 1,000,000 dollars on his work since his arrival at San Francisco. His superb buildings (the prayer-rooms have baths, lifts, buffets, libraries attached) amply account for this. In 1900 he chose a site between Chicago and Milwaukee, where the Church acquired 6000 acres beside Lake Michigan, building its Tabernacle on special grounds of 60 acres. A town—Zion City—sprang up. In 1901 Dowie appeared as "Elijah, Restorer of All Things"; in 1903 consecrated himself "First Apostle of the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church of Zion"; in 1905 involved himself and the movement in financial disaster; left Zion City on a "tour"; was denounced, deposed, and died soon after.

His curative activity had been constant. Doctors he decried as necessarily and immediately inspired by the devil.[1] Spiritualism and Theosophy are equally diabolic.[2] All Christian sects and Churches incur his equal condemnation, but in particular Christian Science.[3] Yet Mr. Harlam's careful *J. A. Dowie and*

[1] *Doctors, Drugs and Devils*, Chicago, 1897.
[2] *Diabolical Spiritualism Unmasked*, *ib.*, 1898.
[3] *Christian Science exposed as an Anti-Christian Imposture*, *ib.*, 1896.

the C.C.A. Church in Zion, 1906, together with Dr. Goddard's paper in the *American Journal of Psychology* (x., 1899), where he studies numerous records of cures published up to that time in *Leaves of Healing*, leave no doubt upon the character of the cures, which cannot be distinguished from those of Christian Science, though based on a totally different philosophy.[1]

As a basis for study of Divine Healing, we have over 1600 records of individual cures, all of more or less value and completeness. About two-thirds of them are females. Thirty-three per cent. [of the whole] report their healing instantaneous, fifty per cent. gradual, and seventeen per cent. say they are not yet perfectly healed. It must be noted that while thirty-three per cent. report instantaneous healing, it is plain from their own account that they almost always mean that pain ceased instantly.

Mr. Harlam, writing after the "exposure" of Dowie in 1906, says that on the evidence it is impossible to be certain of the essential nature of many undoubted cures: the belief that objective power of a spiritual nature was exerted by him has to be abandoned even by those who fully believe in "Divine Healing."[2] The very successful *Holy Ghost and Us Society*, founded at Beulah Hill in Maine by Rev. F. W. Sandford, has also been haunted by disaster, though in January 1900 he raised Miss Olive A. Mills from the dead, as she herself confessed.[3]

It is unnecessary to dwell on the "drugless" cures based on systems in no way connected with religion or philosophy, *e.g.* the "Osteopathy" of Mr. Andrew Still of Kirkville, Missouri (*The Autobiography of A. T. Still*, revised edition, 1908, p. 94). In 1897 the number of graduates of the American School of

[1] *Cf.* Dr. Goddard, *l.c.*, p. 442.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 132 *n.*
[3] *Cf. Sunday Inter-Ocean*, Chicago, Jan. 7, 1900. Miss Mills was highly annoyed at being recalled from Paradise.

Osteopathy was 63, in 1907 the total was 2765. This does not represent the whole, for there are affiliated organizations. The legal position of Osteopathy is also improved (*ibid.*, pp. 387–389).

Similarly, the "Emmanuel" movement for mental therapeutics is based on no philosophical theory; as to the non-reality of matter and disease it says:

> Christian Science proclaims the unreality of matter and of the body. The rational and broader thought not only admits the validity of the body as veritable expression, but claims that it is as good in its own place and plane as is the soul or spirit. While susceptible to mental moulding, it is neither an error nor an illusion.[1]

On the other hand, Emily Cady preaches a doctrine which forms a link between Christian Science and Theosophy.[2] God is the universal spirit, personal only in men, who are triple—spirit, soul, and matter—the last practically nothingness, the first practically God. Live by the first, and the woes of the third vanish. Christ speaks to all, saying that He came to make our life "happy and comfortable."

Side by side with the physical cure is said to go the moral cure; and on virtue as the prerequisite to healing, Christian Science has always laudably insisted. Doubtless, too, its discipline will have virilized many minds, and turned their attention from self-pity to the "will to live."

Mrs. Eddy's enthusiastic and official historian (for 1870–1882), Miss S. Wilbur, draws a picture which is not encouraging. Of the *Christian Science Journal* she says (p. 293):

> "The *Journal's* history is singular in that it has had a series of editors who fell away from Christian Science into strange apostasy. The first associate editor, Mr. A. T. Buswell, was

[1] *Christian Science and the New Metaphysical Movement*; a pamphlet of the Metaphysical Club, Boston, quoted by Goddard in *American Journal of Psychology*, x. 448.

[2] *Cf.* Lect. XXXV., and see *Lessons in Truth*, by H. E. Cady "Unity Metaphysical Series," 1899–1900.

expelled from the Christian Science Association. The second editor, Mrs. Emma Hopkins, also deserted and started a new religion of her own. So did Mrs. Sarah H. Crosse, who was editor from 1885 to 1888. This lady took with her a group of students who departed from the Association for the very strange reason that "they desired to study medicine." The Rev. Frank Mason then became editor of the *Journal.* He later went to New York and founded a church in Brooklyn which was non-Christian Science (p. 295).

In 1881, eight of Mrs. Eddy's oldest and most trusted students wrote to her:

We, the undersigned, while we acknowledge and appreciate the understanding of Truth imparted to us by our teacher, Mrs. Mary B. G. Eddy, led by Divine Intelligence to perceive with sorrow that departure from the straight [*sic*] and narrow road (which alone leads to growth in Christlike virtues), made manifest by frequent ebullitions of temper, love of money, and the appearance of hypocrisy, cannot longer submit to such leadership. Therefore, without hatred, revenge, or petty spite in our hearts, from a sense of duty alone, to her, the cause and ourselves, do most respectfully withdraw our names from the Christian Science Association and Church of Christ, Scientist:

S. Louise Durant [and seven other names]: October 21, 1881.

But these may be the "thorns for the flesh" destined to all strong personalities. Yet Mrs. Eddy's years of earlier apostolate (1870–1882) were almost one long lawsuit set on foot by her against ex-associates. Mr. Richard Kennedy, in particular, her first student, who had advanced her money, but then differed from her, though spoken of well by all others who knew him, became her *bête noire.* To his "malicious animal magnetism" she will even attribute, later, her husband's death. Of him (though without naming him) she writes:—

Some years ago, the history of one of our young students, as known to us and many others, diverged into a dark channel of its own, whereby the unwise young man reversed our metaphysical method of healing and subverted his mental power apparently for the purposes of tyranny peculiar to the individual. A stolid moral sense, great want of spiritual sentiment, restless ambition and envy, embedded in the soil of this student's nature,

metaphysics brought to the surface, and he refused to give them up, choosing darkness rather than light. His motives moved in one groove, the desire to subjugate; a despotic will choked his humanity. Carefully veiling his character, through unsurpassed secretiveness, he wore the look of innocence and youth. But he was young only in years; a marvellous plotter, dark and designing, he was constantly surprising us, and we half shut our eyes to avoid the pain of discovery, while we struggled with the gigantic evil of his character but failed to destroy it.

The Nero of to-day [*i.e.* Kennedy], regaling himself through a mental method with the tortures of Christians, is repeating history, and will fall upon his own sword, and it shall pierce him through. Let him remember this when in the dark recesses of thought he is robbing, committing adultery and killing; when he is attempting to turn friend away from friend, ruthlessly stabbing the quivering heart; when he is clipping the thread of life, and giving to the grave youth and its rainbow hues; when he is turning back the reviving sufferer to her bed of pain, clouding her first morning after years of night; and the Nemesis of that hour shall point to the tyrant's fate, who falls at length upon the sword of justice.

In warfare with error we attack with intent to kill, and the wounded or cornered beast turns on its assailant. Error bites the heel while we are wounding its head. . . .

Nothing save dishonesty in the individual that comprehends in the least metaphysical science, could prompt him to practise mesmerism and call it metaphysics.[1]

It is difficult in these incidents to see the "moral fruitage" so highly lauded. Nowhere even do we find that Christian Science has worked the curious moral miracle of Mr. Dowie's Zion City.[2]

[1] *Science and Health*, c. "Demonology," 3rd ed., pp. 2, 38.

[2] At 9 a.m. the whistle at the power-house blows, and for two minutes, Mohammedan fashion, everybody turns to prayer in whatever place and from whatever work or occupation, until the same whistle bids them turn their thoughts to secular things again. A number of things are entirely forbidden in Zion City. Bill-boards at the cross streets caution one that swearing or smoking or bad language of any sort are not allowed. Zion City will tolerate no breweries, no saloons, no drug or tobacco store, no physicians' or surgeons' offices, no theatres, no gambling places, no dance halls, no secret lodge-rooms, no keeping or selling of swine's flesh. During the history of the city these regulations have been rigidly enforced; in fact, there has seldom been any attempt at infringement. Harlan, *John Alexander Dowie and the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion*, pp. 15, 16.

APPENDIX

It would be out of place here to describe the dogmatic, critical, or historical attitudes which can be, or are, assumed by Catholics or others with regard to the cures related in the Gospels. Some principles which should govern examination of those events are to be found in *Faith-healing in the Gospels*, by the Rev. R. H. J. Steuart, S.J. It will be remembered that the questions of *fact*—whether the cures took place, and of *interpretation*—why or how they were brought about—are perfectly distinct. An increasing number of independent authorities recognize (in most cases) the *fact* of the cure; the interpretation of the event, of course, varies with the philosophy of the interpreter. For a statement of the Catholic position on the main question we must refer the reader to the standard treatises on *miracles*, especially that in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. The identical value of the evidence in the case of such Gospel miracles as are not merely curative, and of those that are, is well put by Dr. Sanday, *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, 1906, p. 108, etc., quoted by R. H. J. Steuart, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

As for the cures at Lourdes, we can recommend the following books :—

Bertrin, G., *Histoire critique des évènements de Lourdes.* Paris, 1909 (27th thousand) : English translation by Mrs. P. Gibbs, *Lourdes.* London, 1908.

Bertrin, G., *Un miracle d'aujourdhui.* Paris, 1909. *Ce que répondent les adversaires de Lourdes.* Paris, 1910.

Boissarie, Dr., *L'Œuvre de Lourdes.* Paris, 1909.

Dechamps, A., M.D., D.Sc., *A Modern Miracle* (translated by F. Rankin). C.T.S. of Scotland, 1906.

The critical work, *Notre Dame de Lourdes*, by J. M. Cros, Toulouse, 1901, is of peculiar interest in the modifications it enables us to apply to the current account of the origin and evolution of the phenomenon of Lourdes.

Cf., too, *Christian Science*, R. H. Benson, C.T.S.

THE CULTS AND CHRISTIANITY

By C. C. Martindale, S.J., M.A.

ANALYSIS

The "Comparative Method" collects, compares, interprets facts. P. 5.

This concluding lecture offers hints for the comparison and interpretation of the religious facts collected in the preceding lectures. P. 6.

The abuse of this method by those who *presuppose* a mechanical law of religious evolution does not preclude its right use. P. 7.

I. Catholics welcome the *collection* of facts. Truth cannot harm, but corroborates, truth.

A Catholic welcomes comparison, for thus the *best* stands out clearest. P. 8.

He will discuss, and even frame, hypotheses, not mistaking them for certainties. P. 10.

His non-freedom to *conclude* does not forbid him freedom of *thought*. *Ib.*

Nor are his principles, prejudices. P. 12.

Four rules to ensure neutrality in the application of this method; he will gladly observe them himself, but will insist on their observation by others. P. 14.

The Comparative Method is therefore legitimate. P. 15.

II. Restatement of the *class* of facts we are examining, and the *field* in which we look for them, and the *subjective attitude* of the student redefined. P. 18.

To explain the Universality of the Religious Fact, a Catholic will present the "Theistic Hypothesis" as in many ways sounder than, *e.g.*, animism, magic, totemism, nature-worship agrarian or celestial. P. 21.

The "Theistic Hypothesis" is therefore legitimate. P. 28.

III. Given this hypothesis, may not man hope for a revelation? P. 29.

He has ubiquitously postulated one. P. 30.

He has always felt, and morally is, incapable of fulfilling his spiritual exigencies unhelped. P. 32.

(The Vatican Council reasserts these facts, and teaches that this Revelation exists. P. 34.)

The Possibility of "Revelation" cannot then be excluded.

IV. Christianity claims to be this revelation. P. 37.

We shall place Christianity, as a phenomenon, beside other religions. Its unparalleled possession is Christ. P. 38.

(His miracles and prophecy, contrasted with pagan wonders and oracle. P. 40.)

(Diabolic activity: the primitive revelation. Pp. 42, 44.)

The wide views of the Fathers as to the *educative* power of grace among the Gentiles, the *gradual* revelation given to the Jews. P. 45.

These views have never been lacking, though at times obscured. P. 49.

The primary uniqueness of Christianity is Christ. Pp. 48, 50.

V. How to examine Christian dogmas, etc. P. 50.

The Trinity; the Incarnation; the Sacraments; Ritual; Ethic; inadequacy of exclusively objective, as of purely subjective, criteria. P. 51.

Safeguards of equitable examination: (i.) do not force facts into an artificial framework; (ii.) nor dismember Christianity; (iii.) nor choose superficial similarities as terms of comparison; (iv.) nor adorn them with Biblical, etc., language; (v.) nor base them on mere art or ritual; (vi.) nor admit far-fetched parallels, nor (vii.) study-made theories.

Test Christianity by loyalty to facts inspired by spiritual sympathy. P. 60.

It will then reveal itself as having *worked differently*, in the world, from its rivals—in the social, artistic, ethical spheres, etc. P. 61.

This should generate a "moral certainty" that it is *different in essence.* P. 65.

VI. The Catholic account of Supernatural Religion: it at once transcends human nature, and exquisitely suits it; transmutes, but does not destroy it. It introduces a new fact, and a new force, but both reach from and to eternity, and are Jesus Christ. P. 66.

There is in all men a vehement craving to honour and serve the Godhead *close at hand*. For just as little children, bereft of father or mother and longing terribly for them and missing them, oftentimes in dreams stretch out their hands to them that are not there, even so do men unto the gods, most justly loving them for beneficence and kinship's sake, eager by all means to be united in consort with them.—DIO CHRYSOSTOM, *Or.*, xii.

Men do fly from Him outside Himself, or rather, outside themselves. Therefore can they not capture Him whom they do flee, nor, having lost themselves, seek Another. For lo, neither shall a child, that is "outside himself" through having lost his wits, know his own Father.—PLOTINUS, *Ennead* vi. 9. 7.

Whither did they fly, when they fled from Thy face? Or where dost Thou not find them? . . . Behold, they know not that Thou art everywhere, whom no limit of place doth circumscribe, and that Thou alone art present even to them that would be far from Thee. Let them turn then, and seek Thee, for not, as they have deserted their Creator, hast Thou deserted Thy creature. Let them turn then, and lo, there art Thou, within their heart. . . . O where was I, when I was seeking Thee? Why, Thou wast before my face, and as for me, even from myself had I departed, nor could I find *myself*—how much less *Thee*!—AUGUSTINE, *Conf.*, v. 2.

Let *them* wax fierce with you, who know not with what labour Truth is to be found; how hardly errors are to be avoided. . . . Let them be fierce, who know not with what difficulty the eye of the inner man is to be cured, that it may bear to gaze upon its Sun. Let them be fierce, who know not with what sighs and groans it may come to pass that, in measure how tiny soever, God may be understood! Ah, let them be fierce against you, who never have themselves been deceived by error like to that whereby they see you to have been sent astray.—AUG., *c. Ep. Man.*, ii. 2.

THE CULTS AND CHRISTIANITY

In the Introduction to this series[1] it was laid down that in all historical work there are two main departments: the collection of facts, and their interpretation. It is felt more and more strongly nowadays that general views, sweeping statements, especially judgements upon the value of this or that, are not acceptable unless it can be shown that they are based upon ascertained facts, upon solid evidence, loyally collected, truthfully and fully set forth. But it is equally clear that the mere accumulation of facts, the mere collection of evidence, is of very little interest or utility if, in the end, we are not enabled to take a comprehensive view of the situation, and to assert: This is true, that false; This is good, that bad; This must be kept, that abolished;—on a large scale.

In consequence, two tendencies can be definitely marked down as especially characteristic of modern intellectual work. First, the area in which facts are sought is extended as far as possible. A writer upon one form of government, one system of economics, will not content himself with studying it in one setting only, so to say. Wherever there has been, *e.g.*, a republic — Rome, Florence, France, in ancient, medieval, and modern times respectively—he will collect his facts; he will then institute a *comparison*, and finally complete the triple process to which, in

[1] *Introd.*, p. v.: *cf.* C. C. Martindale, *Catholics and the Comparative History of Religions*, C.T.S., p. 1.

the same introduction, we called attention: that in which facts are first collected, then compared, contrasted, and arranged in proper order, and finally interpreted and judged. In regard to religions, the parts of this triple process are called—perhaps by a growing number of scholars—Hierography, Hierology, Hierosophy. That the getting of all the evidence before us is of the highest importance will, I suppose, be disputed by no one. An alarming accumulation of facts will certainly ensue; but that is better than the omission of what may turn out to have been of paramount importance. A quantity of unnecessary material will have to be eliminated; prolonged sifting will be inevitable; but that merely means that we must have division of labour, departmental editing: specialists, in short. To set forth succinctly, but equitably, such facts as create a trustworthy picture of certain religions has been the main object of this series. It has aimed at furnishing material for the next two stages of comparison and interpretation.

It is in these two stages, and especially the last, that the other tendency to which we alluded is discernible. So strong is the determination to reach a definite judgement or conclusion—to be able to say that all aristocracies, *e.g.*, have in the long run proved harmful, and therefore should be distrusted; or that all civilization follows a definite curve of development and must in time as inevitably degenerate—that when there are gaps in the evidence, scholars have recourse to *hypothesis* to bridge them; they fill in the empty spaces in the evidence relating, say, to the history of one animal species by what they have learnt from the evidence about some other, *on the hypothesis* that both alike must have followed a parallel course of development; or they actually invent the "missing links" *on the hypothesis* that some phenomenon must, or at least may, have followed an unbroken line of evolution. For, in short, underlying this tendency is, in

nearly all cases, the modern conviction that all things follow an equable, uniform course of evolution from the simple to the complex, or at least from the lower form to the higher. Thus in regard to religions, if we assume, for instance, that religion in general must evolve according to a universal and necessary law, scholars will bridge the gaps in the history of the religion, *e.g.*, of ancient Egypt, by what they know of the religion of ancient Babylon; or even, if they assume that the law of evolution is so fixed as to be necessarily identical for all ages of the world's history, and in all divisions of the human race, they will argue what must have happened, say, among the prehistoric Greeks, from what they now see happening among the "primitives" of Polynesia or of Central Africa.

In a certain sense, this has already given an answer to the questions which should be placed only quite at the end of an investigation; that is, what is the *meaning* or the *worth* of the subject of our examination? It has assumed that in all its manifestations religion must have an identical origin, follow an inevitable career, reach a predetermined end. In regard to special cults, it will have assumed that all are alike, start in the same way, decay and vanish each like the other. Inevitably, therefore, men come to attach no absolute or transcendent value or truth to any one religion, but take up a detached attitude towards each and all, including Christianity.

Does this mean that no Catholic can have anything to do with this kind of investigation, or even that the whole plan of investigation by hypothesis is bad, and vitiated at the outset by its unwarrantable assumptions? By no means. And in this concluding article we wish to indicate, first, what we believe to be a legitimate method which no Catholic need fear to apply to the study of religion: a method, indeed, customarily applied by the surest and most trustworthy guides he

can find in these enormously important matters. We shall then suggest—and we most emphatically disclaim the least wish, and, *a fortiori*, all attempt, to write here anything exhaustive or final—some considerations which will help a reader of these lectures to compare or contrast the facts he has gathered, to classify, and even to draw from them some wide and safe conclusions. These shall serve to establish him in a sense of security when he hears it argued, from the self-same facts, that religion in general, and Christianity in particular, are purely natural products, and therefore of no special, absolute, and final character or value.

I

As for the collection of facts, Catholics have as fair a field as anybody; indeed, I would dare to say, a fairer. For in this part of the investigation, all that is needed is industry, accuracy, and loyalty—industry to hunt the facts out; accuracy in setting them down just as they present themselves; and loyalty not to suppress, not to exaggerate, not to distort them in the interest of some system yet to be established or theory yet to be proved. Now, of all men, Catholics are absolutely alone in their conviction that their beliefs about the great matters which enter into all question of religion are absolutely true. There is absolutely nothing hypothetical, doubtful, ill-founded, "jerry-built" about their dogmas. They can, and do, give in to them an "assent supremely firm," because they are truths revealed by God, who cannot deceive nor Himself be deceived. In consequence, it is altogether impossible that any fact they discover can injure, disprove, discredit these dogmas, and refute their belief. They neither fear facts nor heed lies. Truth cannot conflict with truth. Pius X. has but insisted anew on this when he has refused to sanction the theory which would assume a possible opposition

between the "truth of history" and the "truth of faith." Leo XIII. flung the Vatican archives wide open to research, and delivered their treasures to the investigation of scholars however little sympathetic, certain that in the long run Truth must conquer, and that even the *misinterpretation* of facts was better than their *suppression*; for one false theory commits suicide or is murdered by the next,[1] while "the Lord's truth remains for eternity." Alone, as I said, the Catholic can be sure that a new fact, which seems to conflict with the old belief, does not really do so, but, that when the whole is seen, it will assuredly fit into the organized scheme of truth. Mountain peaks, while the mist swathes their bases, peer out like isolated crags, islands of rock, disconnected, detached; but, as a matter of fact, they stand united beneath the mists, and are all harmoniously linked in one organic chain. It is different for one who has a theory of his invention, or of his special predilection, which he must at all costs support. He is the man who risks being disloyal, who may find himself tempted to suppress, invent, distort. Thus if he is convinced that miracles and prophecies cannot happen, he must, when dealing with the Gospels, either strike out all record of miracle or prophecy, and call it "interpolation"; or he must read into the evangelists much that they do not say in order to explain what they do; or he must at least take in a forced and unnatural sense the passages which disturb his theory; or he must simply and arbitrarily say that the documents tell lies. But this method is too crude for a self-respecting historian. It remains, therefore, that even in this early stage of collecting facts, the theorist runs risks which the man of faith does not.

But how is the Catholic off when he comes to the second and third division of the comparative method? Is he not fatally hampered, bound hand and foot by

[1] "Evil," wrote Aristotle, "is self-destructive."

his dogmas? How can he classify, for instance, all his facts upon the hypothesis that all religion had the same origin in ancestor-worship, or advanced from polytheism to monotheism, when he is bound to believe that it began with a "revelation" of the one true God? How can he interpret the facts freely, and recognize, for example, should he wish to, that the Greek religion was higher than the Jewish, or the Christian built largely out of pagan material? He cannot. Can he therefore any more be said to possess Freedom of Thought?

Yes, he does possess freedom of thought, freedom of research, freedom of discussion. All he has not got is freedom of final *conclusion*—a precious limitation indeed, when we see how, in our own lifetime, theory after theory has been set on foot, declared certain and established, has been overturned, and litters the ground with its wreckage and with the ruin of its framer's reputation. To the Catholic the Church says, in effect: "Wait! do not be in a hurry. There may be some truth in your theory; your hypothesis may, in time, win my acceptance. But do not rashly conclude you have there only the truth . . . be certain you have not all of it." Certainly there are some theories which run directly counter to the Church's doctrine. These the Catholic cannot hold and will not frame; but he will not regret this, feeling sure that he is thereby being saved a deal of time spent in buttressing a system which was bound to fall, while he could have been doing solid and lasting work; and he will always hold himself ready to discuss, with others, the theories they have formed, and *on their own merits.* He will be glad, too, to be forced to remember what so many (jealous for the survival of their own creation) forget, that a theory is not a certainty; nor is hypothesis a proof. That hypotheses are useful, he will readily allow. The positive sciences have advanced at least as much by hypo

theses and intuitions as by logically deduced results. If the hypothesis stands all checks, all tests by available evidence; if all the consequences logically cohere, and conflict with no facts certain upon other grounds, it has all the better chance of being true. The circulation of the blood, the solar system, ether: these are illustrations of what was held first as an ingenious hypothesis or a brilliant intuition. In time the world may be won to the conviction that the hypothesis is demonstrably true, and explains the facts in the only possible way. Dr. Marett has a delightful simile,[1] by which he defends the assumption of "working hypotheses." They are, he tells us, with Dr. Frazer, like "theoretical bridges," (by which) "we hope eventually to transform, as it were, a medley of insecure, insignificant sandbanks into one stable and glorious Venice." M. Salomon Reinach, with M. Goblet d'Alviella, is serenely content with this "working by hypotheses." He owns his theories of totemistic sacrifice are but "card-castles" that cannot bear weight,[2] and that his hypothesis of "Orphism" may, like totemism, prove a "hobby, and an over-ridden hobby too";[3] but he will not hesitate still to circulate his belief[4] that "*wherever*" certain elements are found in a myth (a sacred masquerade, for instance), an "enlightened exegete *is bound* to seek the solution of the enigma in the armoury of taboos and totems." And M. d'Alviella, in his presidential address,[5] asserts that "the *essential method* of hierology is that which supplements insufficient evidence for the continuous history of a belief or institution, in one race or society, by facts borrowed *from other centres* or

[1] See *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, Oxford, 1908, i. pp. 46–57.
[2] *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, 1908, iii. p. 88.
[3] *Transactions, etc.*, p. 118.
[4] *Cultes, etc.*, I. vii.: *cf.* p. 84.
[5] *Transactions*, ii. 365.

from other times" (italics ours).[1] Much more wise were the words written—alas! eleven years ago—by M. Loisy:—

"The asserted law of religious evolution is hitherto but an hypothesis, a theory conceived by the history of religions. It may indeed offer certain advantages for the classification of the facts of observation, but we must take the greatest care not to assert it as the necessary rule and infallible programme of all religious development; for it is impossible to display its continuous application in history."[2]

But we repeat, a Catholic will have no objection to framing, on legitimate principles, certain hypotheses and constructive theories, and he will have no objection to discussing those of others on their own merits. Rarely will he fail to find instruction and new light, even when he has most determinedly to reject the solution he is studying.

But, after all, how, it is asked, can a Catholic judge freely of the facts he sees before him? Is he not bound to hold his own religion to be the best, and all others, in relation to it, false and bad? It is true that the Catholic has principles which he is bound to use when judging of what he sees. He does not wander vaguely forth, allowing facts to float up, as it were, to meet him, totally unprepared with any plan of action in their regard, quite unable to assume any definite attitude towards them. No. He will face them and deal with them upon the principles which govern his mental and moral life already. And here he is right, not only according to what his religion asks of him, but according to what sound reason exacts of him. An *open* mind is not an *empty* mind. An *impartial*

[1] This method of "supplements" is scarcely in harmony with that "study of differences," rather than of mere similarities, which both these scholars urge (*Transactions*, ii. 120, 365). After all, if the gaps in one set of evidence must be filled with facts taken from another, there will soon be no "differences" left to study!

[2] "La Religion d'Israël," *Revue du Clergé Français*, 1900, xxiv. pp. 34, 342.

man need not be an *indifferent* man. The man who sets out to test various metals claiming to be gold is not a bigot, or biassed, because he believes in the value of his touch-stone to test, and to test right. And indeed the man neither does nor can live who can face up to any problem—especially to a problem so fascinatingly interesting as is religion—with a perfectly blank mind. Were his mind perfectly blank, he could never begin his judgement-process. No; he possesses already certain principles, certain estimates, certain tests, which he believes to be thoroughly reasonable, and while he is carefully on his guard against allowing them to delude or divert him, he does not hesitate to use them. We do not even quarrel with a man who believes in mechanical evolution for applying that principle to the facts he is studying. But we do quarrel with him badly if he violently forces the facts out of shape, and packs them at all costs into his theory—like Procrustes, who lopped the feet off his guests, or stretched them on a rack, in order to fit them into the bed he was determined they should occupy. Indeed, there may come a point when we blame a man who remains even an "agnostic" in face of facts which he will not indeed explain away, but which he prefers not to explain at all rather than explain in a way that is distasteful to him. Nor must he quarrel with us if we appear with our own principles; if we assert that we claim an equal right with him to test the meaning and value of the facts, which he and we are facing, by our own methods. If we can deal with more facts than he, more simply, more loyally, not violently, that is all in our favour. I do not hesitate to say that a Catholic is freer, more candid than one who is committed to the rationalist interpretation of the world. He is more patient; less hurried to conclude; less fantastic to surmise; above all, more reverent to truth, more comprehensive in outlook, precisely

because he does not, *a priori*, exclude the *supernatural* explanation of certain phenomena (that all alike must study) which his adversary excludes arbitrarily and from the outset.

A Catholic writer, Fr. H. Pinard, S.J., has recently written on this subject with force and lucidity.[1] He frankly welcomes the comparative method; Christianity compared with other religions will reveal itself transcendent — like Saul, he says, in quaint illustration, "who never appeared so tall as when he put himself in the midst of the folk, and then was seen to tower head and shoulders above all of them" (1 Kings 10^{23}).

He gives us four rules which shall ensure for us *neutrality* in our study of the facts of religion, and in our comparing and correlating them. To judge of them is impossible, as we said, without pre-judgements (which are not the same as prejudices!), that is, without first principles.

First, when we see *similarities* of ritual, even of belief, we have no right to assume anything more than a uniform substratum of human nature. We have no right to proclaim loan or theft, imitation or rivalry. Because two religions practise sacrifice, it in no sense follows that either has filched it from the other. This "principle of uniformity," by demanding proof of *causal connection*, ruins a number of theories which were for showing that, *e.g.*, Christianity was an offshoot of, or essentially dependent on, some pagan cult.

Next, the principle of "originality" declares that *even if* all the "material"—philosophic formulæ, ceremonies, etc.—that is used in one religion be the same as that which is used in another, there may yet be such "genius" shown in the way in which it is handled that the result is an entirely new and "original" pro-

[1] *Quelques Précisions sur la Méthode Comparative*, Anthropos, V. ii. iii., 1910. *Cf.* "A Note on Comparative Religion," C. C. Martindale, *Dublin Review*, Oct. 1910.

duct; for genius is less in the invention, creation, of new stuff than in the transcendent way in which it handles what everyone else had failed to utilize. Thus Vergil is "original," though he used ideas and episodes that Homer had used: Shakespeare borrowed his plots, yet his "originality" was not thereby lessened. He put a new *soul* into the old body.

Third, it is this soul that *matters*. The same sentence, very nearly, or exactly, may be found in Augustine, in Epictetus, in Renan. But the *animating genius* will be perfectly different in each case. This is the "principle of primacy," and tells us to what, in religions that seem similar, we should look before we make comparisons and estimates.

Finally, we have the principle of "unification." A religion must be taken as a living whole; each part of it reacts upon each other part, as two rays of light interpenetrate. We may not dismember Christianity —seek parallels to this dogma here; to that rite there; and cap its moral maxims from Jewish, Persian, Indian sources. It is the *whole man* who lives and moves: life has fled from an amputated limb.

I think, therefore, we have already made solid progress. A Catholic cannot but welcome the discovery and setting forth of facts, for facts are truth; and of the full Truth which his faith possesses, all lesser, partial truths are but the broken lights, the imperfect revelation of the "many splendoured thing." Nor will he blush to have his own religion compared with others, confident as he is that its transcendent beauty will but shine out the better. He will not hesitate to discuss with others their theories, to bring them to the test of facts, to form them himself while he is free to do so, not showing himself irritable, nor believing himself hampered where he is not so free, and always asking to be borne with if he insists on remembering that a theory is but a theory, and that

a hypothesis is no solid rock of fact. He will "sit lightly" to the fashionable systems; he will not glibly repeat the current shibboleth. Finally, he will resent the reproach of bias and partiality should he insist on judging facts and theories alike upon principles that have stood the test of reason and experience. His adversaries have their own principles; and if they accuse him of bigotry when he defends a faith that is dearer to him than life, and when they assert that no man who is fighting for his own side can possibly be fair, he will reflect that there is rarely one of them who is not himself trying to prove a theory, to defend a position, who is not an "apologist" out and out. So much for his own position.

He will further protest loudly when his opponent, gathering together details and similar seeming facts from all quarters of the universe, declares that the Christian religion is the daughter of some older faith, or worth no more than some similar creed or rite.[1] He will say, that until causal connection is proved, no more has been done than to show that human nature is everywhere the same, and that anyhow the most similar phenomena (outwardly) may have been produced by the most various inner forces; and, as we have been told, he will have with him men like Dr. L. S. Jordan, Professor Cumont, Professor Rhys Davids (*cf.* Lect. xiv. 15, 16; xvi. 28, etc.). He will protest, too, when he notices scholars filling up gaps in the evidence, on the assumption that each religion must have developed like every other, and asserting that they are arguing from facts, when really they are creating them.[2] And here he will have with him men of

[1] We shall have to repeat many of these considerations below, as the result of our examination of the facts. Here they are offered *a priori*, as necessary to a sound *method*.

[2] This happens especially when "savage" religions are being dealt with: it is assumed that the pure idea of God cannot have existed in the "earlier stages" of civilization; these, then, even when they cannot be detected in one tribe, are assumed, because it is thought they are

recognized value, like M. Toutain, that stern critic of airy theories, reckless reconstructions, gigantic syntheses, who asks[1] for patient, unprejudiced, accurate research into fact, distinguishing worships carefully according to time and place, and not supplementing the evidence as to ancient Egypt by that obtainable from medieval Mexico or modern Mozambique. And he will further ask, not only that the facts be taken in their entirety, and that they be not added to, but that they be examined in their interconnection, historical, logical, and psychological, and, above all, as animated by that mysterious, peculiar force which is the soul of, and gives (as it were) the personality to, each religion. And he will cry out against such writers as establish quite *a priori* what they will admit such a "soul" to be—the hypothesis, *e.g.*, of an "essence" in Christianity, over and above which all must be declared borrowed or absorbed from alien sources. Thus Mr. Hatch (*Hibbert Lectures*) will lay down the Sermon on the Mount as the "essence" of our faith; Professor Harnack, the Fatherhood of God. M. d'Alviella will regard its theodicy as a "blank page" for alien cultures to scribble on at will. All else must be considered accretion, accidental, superfluous. Against this, a Catholic will demand the careful study of each exponent of the new-born faith; the subtle disentanglement of what each writer considered orthodox and essential, traditional, or at least adaptable and capable of assimilation. No *a priori* definition of what shall be the essence of a faith will he admit.

Finally, he will insist that the mere comparison of

detected in another, and it is declared that tribe A has evolved (from a low level which has to be assumed), though it might equally well be declared that tribe B has devolved (from a high level which might with equal—and often with greater—probability be assumed). But that would sound too orthodox. *Cf. infra*, p. 24.

[1] J. Toutain, *Études de Mythologie*, etc., Paris, 1909, p. 80. *Cf. Transactions*, ii. p. 121.

phenomena will not enable us to pass judgement on the various religions we compare. We cannot do without some first principles—conviction that God exists, or does not; can, or cannot be known by the human mind; can, or cannot reveal Himself to it; that miracle is, or is not possible. Observation and research will, indeed, put us on the road to forming these principles and that previous philosophy; but without *some* philosophy, history remains meaningless, a mere bundle of dead facts. Without, too, some standard of beauty and of worth, the gods remain there, ticketed and labelled, on our museum shelves; but mere bigness or smallness of bulk will not enable us to judge of what is spiritual. Nor must we eliminate from a religion, as unessential, what it holds in common with another, else monotheism would be proclaimed unessential to Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. Nor can we say that what all religions have in common must be true. They have little enough in which they all of them coincide; and, even so, once upon a time all the world believed the sun went round the earth. Our first principles can never be merely mechanical.

II

When we approach the comparative study of religions we begin, as I said above, by collecting facts. But, after all, we must have, from the outset, some sort of notion of what kind of facts we propose to collect. "Religious" facts, of course! Quite so; but, for many, the answer to the question "What is religion?" is to be the *result* of their comparative examination of the collected facts. However, custom and the ordinary use of language enabled us to define Religion, in the sense in which research, at the outset, is authorized to take it, as

"the sum-total of beliefs, sentiments, and practices, individual or social, which have for their object a power which man recog-

nizes as supreme, on which he depends, and with which he can enter (or has entered) into relation."[1]

We proceeded to study these beliefs, sentiments, and practices in various races, ages, and areas of the world. Thus, in the "Religions of Primitive Peoples," those uncivilized tribes were considered who are believed by so many modern writers most adequately to represent to us the state of mind of prehistoric man. The religion of those millions who people China, and of that "new" land of Japan, on to which Europe is thrusting its standards and ideals, were examined, and in "Hinduism" we saw what were the hopes and fears and faiths of the thronging populations of India. "Buddhism" told us too of that "Light of Asia" which dawned upon the ancient creed of Brahminism; and the "Avesta," of the reform and development of that old Persian faith which we studied in the "Religion of the Great Kings." "Celtic Religions" lifted for a moment the veil from the past of those northern races—mystics and fighters from the outset—who are of such special interest to us; but, most important of all, perhaps, the religions of Babylon, Assyria, Egypt, and Syria told us of the mysterious centuries so recently revealed to us by excavation, exploration, decipherment of ancient languages, and of the peoples whence the Hebrews came, where they sojourned as exiles, slaves, rivals, or friends, among whom they developed, and with whom to the end they remained connected by a thousand ties. Two studies of ancient Greece showed us respectively the Greek religion and the Greek philosophy, which still were influential, even if not dominant, in the Roman world where the Christian Church took root; and two, again, described the faiths of that Roman world itself. A closer study of one particular worship, that of Mithra, enabled us to enter more deeply into the religious mind of the period when Christianity itself

[1] Lect. I. p. 3.

was but in its childhood; and "Ancient King Worship" not only made us better understand that old world which was finishing, but showed us principles already at work which have energized almost uninterruptedly till our own day, when their force is more felt than ever. In the third and fourth volumes the fortunes of Christianity (for reasons we shall see more clearly below) were followed, the great post-Christian faith of Islam was described, and the recent history of Judaism. Finally, those new cults—for such they are—of Spiritualism, Christian Science, and Theosophy, show us how the products of our own day are, for all their modernity, rooted in tendencies as ancient as humanity, and everywhere discernible in the tragic and many-mysteried narrative of man's effort after God.

Success, as we said, in examining these data, depends largely on a man's first principles. We shall now define a little more closely the *positive* assets we should wish to be his, demanding at least that, if he can do no more, he observe a negative and non-committal attitude towards them. We ask, then, as a minimum, that he do not exclude, before ever starting, all idea of the existence of God and of the soul. Indeed, we may feel that a man is not likely to advance far in his investigation unless he has what is called a "confused" idea of God—when he is aware, that is, of God's existence at least *as much* as he is of the sun's when he can detect, as it were, a focus of light in a cloudy sky, and *more* than he is when the sun's rays are wholly diffused, and their source utterly lost in a brilliant mist. Indeed, St. Augustine will even say that unless a man believes in the providence, that is, the government of God, he need not trouble himself about religion. That is, he must possess some vague perception of the soul, of God, of the world; or, as I should like to put it, of a *self* which is different from all else, and of an *otherness* in which he can distinguish something which is, and

something which is not, *ultimate*.[1] But quite as important as the possession of these objective ideas, is the subjective disposition which consists in a "right" intellect and a good will—that is, not erudition, not complicated culture, not bias in favour of one system, one religion, or no religion, but an honest purpose to find out the truth if one can, to follow it, not to assume one possesses it, or shall control it. An enquirer must possess that *veritas vitae* (must be *living* the truth) which is the constant refrain of St. Thomas—a broad-minded and generous and human philosopher if ever there was one![2]

We may feel, then, that a man who faces up, with such dispositions, to the amazing spectacle of the "religious fact," as the world shows it to him, will not fail to ask himself what is the origin, meaning, and value of that fact. And first of all he will advert to the *universality* of the "religious fact," a characteristic which, we saw, finds now but few direct denials; in fact, since the thesis of Sir J. Lubbock (1870; now Lord Avebury), there have been few who refuse all knowledge of a "god," or "gods," even to the least developed tribes. For, on the one hand, it is no elaborated, sublimated religion for which we are claiming universality; its expression may be grotesque, indefensible; the notion of the supreme and ultimate Fact on which the worshipper depends may be manifestly false; the moral cult rendered, clearly perverse; among the degenerate, the notion and the cult may have dwindled to vanishing point; among the hyper-

[1] See St. Augustine, *De Utilitate Credendi*, especially xvi. 34; *P.L.*, 42^{89}; xiii. 29, *ib.*^{86}; *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, xx., 1910, p. 463; St. Thomas, *S.T.*, I. ii.; 1, ad 1.

[2] *Cf.* Augustine, *ib.*, xi. 25; 42^{82}; *De Moribus Eccl. Cath.*, i. 17; 32^{1324}; St. Thomas, *S.T.*, I. 16; 4, ad 3; *ib.*, 17, 1; II. ii. 109; 3, ad 3; *cf.* St. John, 3^{21}; J. H. Newman, *Grammar of Assent*, 1898, pp. 105, 390, etc.; de Broglie, *Probl. de l'Hist. d. Relig.*, 1897, p. 31, gives a subtle description of the psychology of the enquirer who *does not really want to find.*

cultivated the foundations of the religious life may be sapped, its sources dried; yet even in the least promising "degenerate" are sudden jets of natural worship; the most cultivated modern finds dogmatic atheism a rickety pinnacle to stand upon. *Elements* of religion, *traces* of religious activity are now being ubiquitously recognized, even among the once despised Aruntas and their like; for the ages of which history tells us, the induction is now adequate; the hints which "prehistory" affords make the hypothesis that religion then, too, existed, far more reasonable than to conjecture it did not.[1]

This is not the place to repeat the facts which these lectures have sufficiently put before the reader. I will only recall that the sciences allied to History (Comparative Mythology, Folklore, etc.) offer the same witness; Ethnology tells us that even where the cult of "savages" seems to go more often and more directly to "spirits" than to any "All-Father" or supreme deity, yet, even here, traces of an earlier cult (from which these peoples have declined) of such an "ultimate" deity can be discerned; that in some cases the sheer respect due to this "ultimate" forbids explicit, or habitual cult; and that often enough the worship given to this Supreme Being approaches far more nearly to a "latent monotheism" than do the classical "religions" we hear praised so high above these primitive modes of worship.[2] Nor (though here the witness is, need we say, less distinct) do sociology or the psychological fruits of introspection give any other answer. Nations have been jealous for their national god, even when personal religion had sunk low; the unbeliever has had to wrestle against himself, when thrills of conscience, instincts stirring in uneasy slumber, remind

[1] *Cf.* S. Hartland, *Transactions*, i. 31; A. Lang, *The Making of Religion*, 1900, p. 109; especially the *chef d'œuvre* of Fr. W. Schmidt, *Religionen u. Mythologien d. Austronesischen Völker*, 1910.

[2] See *Degeneration: Monotheism.*

him of the Ultimate. But we may be distrustful of introspection and subjectivism; and the social effort of our day seems fain to leave God out of count.

Moreover, we have seen that modern students who admit this fact have framed hypotheses—Animism, Magic, Astral Myth, Totemism, what not—to account for it, often *excluding* the notion of God's existence or His revelation. The human tendency to believe, to worship, is accountable for, it is urged, by purely natural considerations; the object of belief and of cult is the figment of man's brain; it does not really exist; it is false; it is at least unknowable. Human religion is, M. Reinach ends by telling us, merely "a sum of scruples which impede the free exercise of our faculties"; and a scruple is but a taboo, the fruit of ignorance, the "heritage transmitted to man from brute."[1]

In view of these hypotheses, the Catholic can say, first, that he too has an interpretation of the facts—the theistic; that he too will boldly offer it as a hypothesis and no more, and ask whether it does not interpret the facts as well as, or better than, its rivals. Indeed, he will frankly urge, that, to his thinking, those rivals fail to make good their claim to credence. Thus he will have taken his stand upon the same territory as his opponents; will be fighting them with weapons that can touch them, on an issue which they will recognize; will (what is indefinitely more important than mere victory) be taking the best of roads to a reconciliation.

And as for animism, for example, the "general belief in spirits" immanent in, or dependent on objects we now regard as inanimate, or spirits of living men—*souls*, that is; or of dead men (*ghosts*), especially of ancestors—a belief that is said to have been born of dreams, of hallucinations, or of a primitive "philosophizing" upon death, or trance, or sleep, or even on

[1] *Orpheus*, 1909, p. 8; Engl. tr., 1910, p. 5.

the mysterious forces revealed in nature—we readily admit its wide diffusion as a belief, but may almost everywhere deny it as in itself a religious belief, or even as a lower form destined to develop into a religious belief. Often the belief in spirits is found without any corresponding cult; constantly a belief in God, with a worship consequent upon it, totally different in essence, is found coexisting with a belief in and even a worship of spirits. Often, indeed, an animistic belief has given birth to certain religious practices, even to mythologies, even (perhaps) to polytheism, but only when combined with a purer and truer idea of a supreme God, different essentially from these spirits; to such an idea it cannot be shown to have given birth; it is not an origin, but may be a degradation; it seems definitely less widespread, less primitive than the belief in God; the theistic hypothesis accounts for more facts and more simply than does the animistic. Indeed, so far is animism from having generated monotheism, that, by means of the polydemonism and even polytheism for which it was in part responsible, it may be said to have defeated those very tendencies to monotheism which we so clearly see, for instance, in Babylon and Assyria. It may *yield to* higher ideas; it does not create nor develop into them. Greek monotheistic philosophy was in no sense an outcome of Greek polytheistic religion, which was, for most, thrust out of court by the philosophy; whereas (in many "savage" and recognizedly degenerating tribes) it is the animistic view of the world which, as it develops, is causing the "All Father" to vanish behind its mists.[1]

It would take too long to explain how the other "naturalistic" hypotheses succeed indeed in explaining many incidents and elements, in specific religions, but

[1] Cf. *Animism*; also A. Lang, *Origins of Religion*, 1908, 107 *sqq.*; M. J. Lagrange, *Études s. l. Religions Sémitiques*, 1904, 1–40, 438, etc.; Chossat, *Dict. Théol. Cath.*, DIEU, *c.* 875–923.

fail directly they are offered as the necessary, or general, explanation of religion, as its origin, or as its essence. Magic, for instance, the power of compelling forces stronger than the majority of mankind, explains, as we have seen, quite a number of ritual proceedings in the most varied times and places. Yet nowhere is it exclusively in possession; nowhere can it be shown to be altogether successor to, or predecessor of, religion. It does not seem dominant in proportion to lack of culture; it cannot be shown, as a rule, at the *origins* of a worship. Nor is there any means of explaining how from the root notion of special powers lodged in this man or that, which enable him to compel, subordinate to himself, powers not essentially different from, but merely other than, those of the ordinary run of men, can spring that sentiment of his essential dependence on those powers, of their "ultimate" character, of "piety" and "affection" which he may nearly always be found to entertain towards his god. Least of all can magic and similar beliefs (*wanda*, *orenda*, *wakan*) generate in me the idea of "right," conscience, and duty.

Totemism, again, went for much in the formation of many historical worships. Yet even though its area of influence has been enormously exaggerated,[1] even restricting totemism to the areas where its existence is vouched for by the facts, we cannot find that the notion of the "divine" is essential to totemism at all; still less could it have issued thence. After all, totemism practically means no more than the belief of a certain clan that it is related to a particular species of animal or plant. It has been assigned to an "hypertrophy of the social instinct." In a clan or

[1] M. Reinach wrote, indeed: "When there are no traces of totemism in some document of ancient literature, *it is because they have been erased by revisers*" (*Orpheus*, p. 25; Engl. tr., 17). Of course, that gives him a splendid field for "supplementing the evidence" (*supra*, pp. 11, 12).

tribe already possessed of beliefs in God, or gods, and of a worship, the animal or plant totem will no doubt be caught up into the religious life which knits together that tribe of which it is considered a member; but nowhere can we see that the totemistic belief ever gave birth to, or could give birth to, belief in God. Indeed, should we grant, for instance, that it prevailed in early Egypt, and that the animal crests of the tribes created the semi-animal pictures of the various gods of these tribes, yet it can never be shown to have created for them the *idea of God*; least of all, to have developed, as we are told, through polytheism to monotheism. On the contrary, the monotheistic hymns of Egypt are among the earlier, not later, monuments; the god Atum, object of a superb worship, never had an animal emblem or equivalent; the worst extravagances of sheer animal-worship came at the end of Egyptian history, when the contaminated, degraded cult was dying.[1]

Nature-, and especially field-worship, have again been given as the origin of religion, and the latter was, of course, largely responsible for cults like those of Adonis, of Tammuz, of Attis, and even Dionysus. Yet even here some wider theory (animism is usually offered) is necessary to explain the origin of that worship itself; while nature-worship, where it has prevailed, has too often been a germ of death, not life; the wonder men experienced at the sight of Nature's reproductive processes infused into those very cults of the dying and rising god, of his sorrowing sister or spouse, hideous elements of ritual prostitution and debauchery. India, Babylon, nearer Asia, even Greece, were infected with this deplorable perversion. Not from that source did any pure religion spring.[2]

[1] See *Totemism*; also van Gennep, "Totémisme et méthode comparative," *Rev. de l'Hist. d. Relig.*, lviii. 41.

[2] *Cf.* Lect. VII. 22, etc.

Nature-worship that went not to the fields, but the skies, was no more successful. Sir S. Dill and Professor Cumont have told us how it rendered the ultimate success of Mithraism impossible. Astrology, which took on such immense proportions about the period of our era, was the doom of pure religion, not its origin. For the stars that were held to rule man's life came inevitably to be recognized as themselves subject to inexorable laws: fatalism was the result, with its logical sequels of scepticism, abandonment of cult and prayer; or else magic, which should *coerce* those stars, and a new riot of superstition handing itself down to the witchcraft and Satan-worship of times not far from the modern.[1]

It is when we have, one by one, examined theory after theory, and seen them still unable to account, philosophically, for the origin and nature of religion, and, historically, clashing with the facts which (unless they be "supplemented," rearranged, explained, or explained away) do not anywhere witness to an unbroken, necessary, upward development of a purer religion from a baser, that we are often inclined to throw up our hands in despair, and exclaim that all alike are false, and that religion itself is but a delusion; that the hunger after God is but a necessary disease of the human race, and that, at best, belief in God and worship—religion, in short, may be for a time for the good of humanity, but is a phase out of which it must grow as soon as may be. But that is arguing too fast: despair is cowardly and unnecessary; ultimate pessimism will never rally, but paralyzes, the belief of men. And we ask whether our own theory, that God *does* exist, that He can be known, and must be worshipped, does not fit the facts better, is not scientifically more acceptable, even as spiritually more consoling? *How* man gets his knowledge of God's existence, and of his own relation to Him, we do

[1] *Astrology*, *Sun-Worship*, etc. *Cf.* Lect. XVI. 25, etc.

not yet enquire. Only, granted that God has been reached by man's awareness from the outset, we can see at once how a thousand influences may conspire to obscure that vague conception, to deflect that unformed conscience. Catholic dogma does indeed teach that man, from the observation of the finite—indeed, most of all from that of his own finitude and helplessness — reaches that confused idea of the Ultimate, the Transcendent. Basing himself quite simply upon what he does to greater men than he, he will do service to that Greatest of all; conscious of his body as he is from the outset, his external religion grows step by step with the internal homage; and since God speaks in conscience, his cult will enter into the category of "ought" and become "moral." And if, as we may find reason for believing, God has "interfered" from the beginning, "spoken," "revealed" Himself, solicited the soul's attention and response, the reaction of that soul will have been the readier and the livelier. Only, as we said, an infinity of circumstances will forthwith conspire to modify, falsify that reaction. It will move awry to a mistaken goal: it may be led to conceive of the divine as cruel, ignorant, manifold; it may fall into that "sin" which leads to, nay, *is*, falsehood, *is* idolatry. All the elements — animism, totemism, magic—which have rightly been detected as energizing here or there in the world's history or on its surface will be combined with that reaction already so insecure, and will complicate, pervert, and all but strangle it.[1]

In concluding this chapter, I repeat, that, in the main, it is a philosophical conviction that God does not exist, or cannot be known to exist, or cannot communicate knowledge of His existence, nature, or will, to men, which has led them to strive to rest

[1] *Cf.* St. Thomas, II. ii. 81, 1, 7; 85, 1; *Contr. Gent.*, iii. 119; *de Veritate*, x. 12; Aug., *Conf.*, x. 6; *de Ver. Relig.*, *P.L.*, $34^{153\text{-}167}$.

in insecure, complicated, unsatisfactory theories of the origin and nature of religion, and to reject the theistic "hypothesis" because it asserts God to exist, to be knowable, to be known.

III

In our last section we have tried to make it clear that a Catholic, on exactly the same grounds as any of his fellow-students, has the right to offer his theistic interpretation of the facts of religious history; that as a solution of the problems suggested by these facts it may indeed prove more complete, more simple, more cogent than the rival materialistic explanations; that these rival explanations do not explain what they profess to explain, and leave the question practically where it was. I repeat, that in no case have I dreamt of suggesting that an adequate exposition of the adversaries' thesis, or an adequate refutation of it, or an adequate development of the theistic case, has here been offered or even aimed at. In these pages one must be well content if at least the directions in which solutions may be sought, the outline of the kind of argument which deserves consideration, can be afforded.

We ask, now, whether it is not reasonable that a man should feel, the deeper he has delved into this great mystery of the religious fact, which the history as of the individual, so of society, thrusts before him, some craving for certainty, some hope of revelation? The issues are so tremendous, the stake so universal. Plato saw that, long ago[1]:—

"I feel, Socrates, and perhaps you do too, that in this sort of question it is extraordinarily difficult to get the answer clear in this present life, if not impossible; but that not to test what men have said on these topics in every possible way, or to give up

[1] The thought is certainly Plato's, and extends to the whole question of religion, though the words are put into the mouth of Simmias, and apply immediately only to immortality (*Phaedo*, 85, C. D.).

one's dogged search before one is faint with exhaustion, is the part of a poor and craven spirit. For in these things a man must carry through one or the other of these alternatives—either to learn the facts, or to discover them ; or, if that prove impossible, at least to lay hold of the best of human arguments, and the hardest to refute, and, riding on this as on a raft, so risk to sail through life's sea, save perchance he should be able, with less pain, less danger, to cross to the further side on a safer vehicle —a word from God."

If then there is a God, *if* the theistic hypothesis has even a chance of being true, will God not speak, not show Himself, and put the tortured soul out of its pain?

Indeed, if we have been impressed, in reading these lectures, by the fact that never an age, nor a race, nor a civilization—no, not even those generations that fancy themselves to have outgrown the faiths of their contemporaries,—has been able to persuade itself that there is no God, that there need be no religion, shall we not be impressed, too, by this further fact, that practically in all historical religions men have been no less persuaded that God has spoken, that their cult and creed are founded upon revelation? We do not for the moment ask what was the origin of this belief—whether, for instance, it be indeed the relic of some aboriginal, authoritative revelation; still less, whether revelation (especially of "mysteries") be possible or necessary; but we do call attention to this great fact, that men have refused to believe that the heavens have always been of brass; that no ray of light, no still small voice, has ever broken the blackness and the silence. At least to their favoured servants, or in oracle, dream, or holy book, the gods of all nations were believed to have spoken. Great prophets move to and fro on the stage of ancient history. By the Tigris and Euphrates, Shamash and Adad, "lords of decision," gave "unfailing answer" to the *bârû*, to him "who sees," and he consigned their replies to tablets of clay that have outlived the centuries. The whole Greek world was voiceful with

oracle; from Zeus "Panomphaios" all "voices" came; the "utterance" or "sound" of the gods floated mysteriously through the Greek atmosphere, and in His *logos*, or word, God expressed Himself in the material universe. Even the world of the unimaginative Roman was haunted by the Fauni and Karmentes, from whom proceeded the vague but intelligible promptings and warnings that were caught in woods, and fields, and hills, and echoed in the human heart. Great compilations like the Vedic hymns and the Avesta bear witness to long histories of communications between God and man firmly believed in. In the humblest religions of the "primitives," nearly always God is held to speak to His elect, or to have spoken in the distant past.[1]

Now, because not all these "revelations" may be true, or wholly true, we dare not argue that all of them are false, and wholly false, and that the whole notion of such revelation is illusory. "All true or all false" is a bad dilemma. Far more scientific, even, is it to hold that humanity, when it felt itself hungry and athirst, tried to satisfy real cravings with what was no real food or drink, than to assert that it has been, all its life long, a *malade imaginaire*, racked by all sorts of fancied needs for what in no sense existed; that it perished for what not only it *did* not find, but for what it *could* not find, since its hunger was but a disease, and the promise of satisfaction an illusion created by humanity itself to drug its pain. Strange, too, were it if religion, which (as men are recognizing more and more) has, in spite of all theories, "determined" human life and human history, and has *improved* the race, *assisted* its development, should have been in itself a sick fancy, a mirage, at best the "growing pains" of mankind.[2]

[1] Cf. *Oracle*, *Omen*, in this series, and in *Cath. Encycl.*, "Oracle," "Prophecy," etc.

[2] De Broglie, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

Now, once a man realizes the possibility of such a revelation of Himself by God, the more he will wish (for the most part) to discover it. For we may leave out of count those few and foolish souls—and are they indeed sincere?—who (with Schelling, I think) have exclaimed: "Keep, God, your revelation, and leave me my prerogative of search!" They would find, did they but accept from God what light and call He gives, that the stimulus to climb, the success, the reward, are all far greater than what their own ambitions or thirst for adventure could supply; and the effort need by no means become negligible and unworthy of their powers, because God *helps* them to achieve something by that effort; because, as Seneca beautifully said: "God is not proud; to him that climbs He reaches out His hand."[1]

For if the *History of Religions* has indeed taught us anything, it must surely be this, that while mankind has been determined to win his way to God, he has ever felt that, left to himself, he cannot. False starts, mistaken turns, flagging energies, halts, falls, retrogression: all that has surely been brought home to us as we watch the history of his upward striving. The more he realizes this, and the more he is convinced that his whole life cannot be intended to be futile, stultified, a necessary unsuccess, the more too he becomes convinced of the "practical necessity" of a revelation, of some help and intervention, that is, whereby God shall succour his impotency. And, once started on this course, he moves with "acquired momentum"; life stimulates thought; thought explains life; each corrects and perfects the other. The man of honest, humble, moral effort may equal, may outstrip the philosopher. At the end of the ten books of Plato's famous *Republic*, the subtle and learned arguments have carried us to a practical conclusion scarcely other than that which old Cephalus

[1] Lect. XIV. p. 20.

(the type of the "ordinary good man") had reached, almost on the first page, having had none but "life" to teach him. For, indeed, it is but natural that *if* there exist a true religion, and man have a genuine faculty of living up to and according to it, the more he endeavours to do so, the more apt his spiritual organism will become to succeed; each new effort will further develop his spiritual power, and make him capable of further and more far-reaching efforts.[1]

If, further, we consider the conditions, whether social or individual, of ordinary human life, we shall find them to be such, that, in the concrete, man cannot but demand of God that He should come in some special manner to his aid, if indeed the dictates of reason, conscience, and history are justified, and a God indeed exist who should be known and served. If a man strives alone, he finds continual checks, deficiencies, which prevent him persevering with his search, or even from starting on it. His business fills his day; his wits may be unaccustomed to, unsuited for, study; he will honestly recognize that he is often indolent, often perverse; that his ancestry, his education, his environment may conspire to prejudice him. His passions becloud him: "crystallized errors" clog the movement of his brain. And if he turns to recognizedly human masters, he does not know whom to choose. After all, they are men like himself. And even though each puts forth credentials, testimonials to his peculiar worth, the very *judging* those testimonials implies already a fair degree of that knowledge which he is trying to acquire. Even if he be

[1] Of course (we shall have to recur to this thought frequently), for one who already believes, the mere fact that man desires and strives to reach God is a proof in itself that God is calling him. The Holy Spirit is already wordlessly pleading in the dumbly stirring soul. "To him that hath shall be given"; each inchoate response enables the soul to catch the call more clearly (John 3^{19}; Mt. 11^{25}, 13^{12}; Eph. 15^{13}). *Cf.* also Vacant, *Concile du Vatican*, i. 347; St. Thomas, *S. T.*, I. 16, 4; I. II., 9, 2; *c. G.*, iv. 52; and *infra*, p. 69.

satisfied that this or that person, or society, have the adequate information, be never self-contradictory (and that is much: for others will certainly contradict them), have never erred, can he be sure they will communicate their possessions? Are not the wisest notoriously the most modest, diffident, aloof? Are not the charlatans the readiest to scatter broadcast learning they prize lightly?

Left to himself, he has but three courses. Either he must give up in despair—and experience shows that to give up the pursuit of God is just what men have never been able to do,—or he must submit to what he has persuaded himself to be a divinely sanctioned Teacher, if not God Himself (and, in any case, how few, and they how laboriously, how slowly, would win to this conclusion!), or, finally, he must try to find a refuge in the doctrine of eternal progress, which may promise some fair measure of knowledge to the race in the far future, but which denies it to the individual in the present. This last course is indeed a possible one, but involves the maiming, stunting of those possibilities of glad, full worship and service of which the soul feels itself capable did it but know, with certainty and proportionate completeness, the existence and nature of the object it would so serve and worship.[1]

The Vatican Council, in which Catholics recognize a rule for their faith, preaches these natural surmises as two complementary truths, in the following shape: first, that the human intellect is, absolutely and in itself, capable of reaching God with certainty; and, second, that, in the circumstances, it claims, as a practical necessity, some revelation.

"The holy mother, the Church, holds and teaches that God, the origin and end of all things, can be known with certainty by the natural light of human reason from created things; for 'the invisible things of Him are beheld, being understood from the

[1] De Broglie, *Religion et Critique*, 1898, p. 324.

created world by means of those things which have been made' (Romans 1^{20}); that, nevertheless, it has pleased His wisdom and goodness to reveal Himself and the eternal decrees of His will to the human race by another, and that a divine, way, as the Apostle says, 'In many fragments and in many ways God having spoken of old to the Fathers in the Prophets, latterly in these days has spoken to us in a Son' (Heb. 1^{1}).

"To this divine revelation it must indeed be attributed that those of divine things which are not, in themselves, unattainable by human reason, may be able to be known even in the present condition of the human race by everyone, without hindrance, with firm certainty, and with no admixture of error. Not, however, that for this reason revelation is to be said "absolutely" necessary, but it is so, because God of His infinite goodness has ordained man to a supernatural end, that is, to participate in the good things of God Himself (*bona diuina*), which altogether surpass the intelligence of human wit."[1]

Briefly, therefore, the Vatican reasserts the essential power of the human intellect to gain a true (though, need we say, analogous and indefinitely inadequate) knowledge of God. Historically, this was in chief directed against the *Traditionalists*, who wanted to assign *all* our religious knowledge exclusively to a verbal tradition handed down, amid constant accidents and deformations, from Adam, who received it from God; philosophically, it will also oppose all other systems of pure subjectivism or of more or less modified idealism, which each on its own ground, especially since Kant, deny to the human reason the power to reach a true idea of God. The foundation of this dogma, as a revealed truth, is in the book of Wisdom (c. 13), and in the Epistle to the Romans (1^{20}), and to the Corinthians (I. 1^{21}); only its *expression* rests upon the arguments from reason used by St. Thomas, among others, to whom reference is made for that purpose only.

But the Vatican equally insists that even apart from "mysteries" technically so-called, the supernatural

[1] Denzinger-Bannwart, *Enchiridion*, ed. 10, 1908; Nos. 1785, 1786. Vatican Council, Third Session, chapter ii. *Of Revelation.*

revelation has become "morally" necessary, if *all* men are easily and swiftly and certainly and purely to attain to that relatively *developed* knowledge of God and religion which it expresses by the words *res diuinae*; (Vacant, *Conc. Vat.*, i. 344; Granderath, *Conc. Vat., ad loc.*).

This doctrine, unless we err, is singularly firm, wide, and honourable to God and man. Man's intellect, though recognized as weak and weakened, is saved from the taint of impotence and futility. God is recognized as infinitely high, yet condescending to man's lowness; merciful in exact proportion to human need; and this, that man may be the more universally, sweetly, and strongly lifted to a position not only worthy of his powers and possibilities, but even far in excess of their exigencies, efforts, and dreams.[1]

Such is the Catholic faith, held by us with loyalty, and fit, surely, to attract by its dignity and beauty the anxious soul, restless till it rest in the God for whom it was made. In this way such a soul may be prepared to lift its eyes, humbly, but confidently, expectant to see, dawning on the darkness, the light of God.

IV

We have therefore seen that in the study of that mysterious phenomenon, religion, none need be afraid to use the methods which have stood our generation in good stead in its research into the other manifestations of human history. We have seen, too, that the theistic hypothesis is at least as scientific as those other atheistic, or agnostic, or materialistic hypotheses which would fain interpret the facts and explain them without recourse to God, or even excluding Him. The universal hunger for God is not necessarily a universal malady doomed to be eternally made mock of. And we have seen that man, conscious of his

[1] *Cf.* Lect. XXIV., pp. 10, 12.

imperative need of God, has been equally conscious of his personal inability to supply that need adequately, and has everywhere called on God to make special manifestation of Himself, to give a revelation.

We maintain that neither has that prayer remained unanswered.

Christianity is the answer.

Whether we be Christians or not, it is impossible at this stage of the world's history not to attend to Christianity. We may believe in and love it; we may hate and fight it; we may expend our last breath in efforts to explain it as a natural phenomenon on exactly the same plane as all other religions (if we are determined that they too shall be but merely natural); but we cannot possibly neglect it.[1]

Now, clearly, in this paper it would be quite impossible, as well as wholly out of place, to set forth any kind of defence of Christianity, or any complete exposition of its credentials. That is the work of the apologist, on to whose field we do not wish to trespass. It is his business, for instance, to prove the authenticity and historical reliability of the ancient documents which witness to its origin; to combine with these the other literary and archæological testimonies of the first Christian generations; to discuss the value of prophecy or of miracle, as establishing the divine mission of Christ and the authoritative character of His doctrine; to examine the other proofs of the divine nature of the Church—her purity, her propagation, and the like.

[1] I should like here to quote the famous lines of A. de Musset:—

"Quand Horace, Lucrèce, et le vieil Epicure,
Assis à mes côtés, m'appelleraient heureux,
Et quand ces grands amants de l'antique nature
Me chanteraient la joie et le mépris des dieux,
Je leur dirais à tous, 'Quoi que nous puissions faire,
Je souffre; il est trop tard; le monde se fait vieux;
Une immense espérance a traversé la terre;
Malgré nous, vers le ciel il faut lever les yeux.'"

Such is not at all our scope, though from another standpoint we may have to mention some of these things briefly. What we shall do is to indicate—never exhaustively to discuss—some of the chief features of that relation in which Christianity is seen to stand to the other systems of the world's religions, to affirm certain tendencies or forces which may enable the student of the comparative history of religions to evaluate the facts he has collected, and pass a judgement of a preliminary description upon what he sees.

Yet, if we may, in parenthesis, state our unfeigned conviction, a loyal exposition of the facts is often the most efficient, if not the most complete "apology," both in its primary sense of a *defence*, and in its no less real meaning, the statement of the *attractability* of Christianity. We should be sorry were even the professed "apologist" himself to rest content with fighting all comers on behalf of the static mass of Christianity, so to put it. He must *set working* its truth, if he can; its sum total of credibility must become its totality of magnetism; the apologist will "lift up" Christ, who forthwith shall "draw all things to Himself." Such indeed was the apologetic of the earliest Christianity, of the Apostles, of Christ Himself. There was little argument; there was authoritative assertion. "We preach Christ crucified," said Paul. "We," said Minucius Felix,[1] "make no lofty talk, but live lofty lives," living, as did the early Christians, not by a philosophical thesis, but by a historical fact, or rather, a person, Jesus Christ. "I," He said, "am the Truth; the Light of the world; the Life."[2]

And this indeed is what the wisest of the early Christian writers did. The great feature of Christian-

[1] *Octav.*, xxxviii. 6; *P.L.* 3^{357}.

[2] *Cf.* the excellent articles of J. Lebreton, S.J., *Rev. Pratique d'Apologétique*, 15th Dec. 1908, vii. p. 401; J. V. Bainvel, S.J., *ib.*, vi. 322; Laberthonnière, *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, 1910, p. 552, etc.

ity, when it is put alongside of, or among, other faiths, is Christ. It is quite idle to seek in the shadowy, semi-mythical heroes of other religions anything at all like Him; anything which can by any means enter into the category which He fills wholly by Himself.[1] Not the distant images of Buddha or Zoroaster; not the chill apparitions of a Confucius or a Lao Tze; not the obscene myth of a Krishna, nor the elusive vision of a Mithra; not even the semi-historical reformers, such as were Pythagoras or Apollonius — even the unscrupulous and gaudy rhetorician Appuleius was advanced by paganism, anxious somewhere to find a rival if only to Christ's miracles—can stand anywhere on the same platform as Jesus. It was the despairing effort to make a *pagan* "apologetic," to save the dying worship from the disease of its inherent contradictions and vices, that inspired the syncretism[2] to which the Roman Empire turned, and which (coupled to a complete misapprehension of Christian doctrine) enabled the Roman Emperor to set side by side in his oratory, statues of Orpheus, Abraham, Apollonius, and Christ. The Gnostics went that way, and relapsed into lower forms of cult and thought than ever.[3] Christianity, on the contrary, stood free from this, absolutely cut off from syncretism by the

[1] We cannot, then, agree with a writer who, attacking as he does "Christian" research for its presuppositions, foregone conclusions, proceeds to designate what he calls "beloved gods," "in terms of current conceptions, the Christs of the world's pantheon. . . . Only by some such collocation of ideas can the enquirer *surmount his presuppositions* and take the *decisive step* towards seeing the religions of mankind as alike man-made" (J. M. Robertson, *Pagan Christs*, 1903, p. 2). Does not this last sentence itself *presuppose* the answer to two vitally important questions: *Are* the religions of man alike man-made? And, Is Jesus Christ, in character and historical position, unique? To my mind it were almost illicit to speak even of the *Buddhas* of the world's hero-roll.

[2] See under *Syncretism*.

[3] See Lect. XXXV. 29–31.

necessity of believing in, preaching, and living by, Jesus of Nazareth, God and man.

This is a unique fact, which startles to attention all who turn open eyes to Christianity, new-born among religions.

How ill-advised, then, were those early writers, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Minucius Felix, for instance, who try to defend Christianity without ever mentioning Jesus Christ! They will philosophize on "hard doctrines" like the Trinity, the resurrection of the flesh; or they will strive to represent their faith as in no way shocking to, or at variance with, the habits of thought of their opponents; they will veil its mysteries, emphasize its points of contact; but they will empty it of precisely that which a true comparison would primarily point out, that which of all things was most fitted to their purpose of subjugating their fellow-men: the person of Jesus Christ.[1]

That Person, when He was indeed put forward, appeared as uniquely focussing in Himself *prophecy* and radiating *miracle*. Here I repeat that as a "proof" of Christ's divinity I do not mean to discuss either of these phenomena. I would but briefly indicate the fact, that while the prevalent belief in oracle, and ready recognition of miracle, made acceptance of this double claim easy, and found it unembarrassed by modern objections to the possibility of miracles as recognizable events and to the prophecies as having occurred at all, I would very briefly say that the Christian miracles are quite unlike those observed among the pagans; while the whole system of Jewish prophecy is quite unlike the general history of oracle and vaticination. Pagan "miracles" were

[1] *Cf.* Rivière, *S. Justin et les Apologistes du deuxième siècle*, 1907; J. Martin, *L'Apologétique Traditionnelle*, i.; art. "Apologétique" in *Dict. d'Apol. Cath.*, vol. i.; *id.*, in *Dict. de Théol. Cath.*, Mangenot-Vacant, and *Cath. Encycl.*

frequent at shrines, say, of Asklepios,[1] or occurred at the touch of emperor or bidding of sage (Vespasian: Apollonius); yet while they cannot in any sense be tested as have been those, say, of Lourdes, or those again of Christian Science,[2] they further are quite different in species from those of the Gospel. It has been argued, by Mr. Mallock, for instance, that Christ's miracles are indistinguishable from those, say, of Apollonius of Tyana, save by reason of the superior ethical system with which they were connected. That is indeed all-important. Pagan miracles were neither consequent on high ethical doctrine or life, nor conducive to it. Christ's were both, and more. Mr. Mallock argues too that, given a certain character, it was natural, indeed inevitable, to decorate it with certain miracles. But, alas! such pagan miracles as are read of are not primarily grouped round "character": with this Asklepios' shrines had nothing to do. Of Apollonius we have heard a true appreciation[3]; not the bourgeois virtue of a Vespasian enhaloed him with miracle, not the "character" of an Appuleius; and if indeed miracles accrue naturally to lofty characters, that after all must show how singularly loftier must Christ's character have seemed than the loftiest pagan heroes', round whom, as a fact, miracles do not appear, as a rule, to cluster. And need we repeat that, for sheer evidence, the pagan miracles cannot enter the same chapter of history with Christ's.

As for the prophecies, their predictive character we once more leave to the apologist, pointing out merely

[1] *Cf.* Lect. XIV. 24, and Lect. XXXVII.

[2] I shall be forgiven for saying with emphasis that only a loose thinker or writer will be willing unhesitatingly to rank under one label these two categories of "cures." It is very common, and altogether in defiance of adequate observation, to class together the "cures" of the Gospel, of Lourdes, and of Mrs. Eddy, under the general name *Faith-healing*.

[3] Lect. XXXV., p. 23.

how utterly unmoral was, for the most part, pagan oracle; how venal, trivial, self-contradictory, even Delphic;[1] how relegated to a distant past the pagan Utopias; how ill-assured even the fairest promise of some saviour-hero like Saoshyant.[2] But in the Jewish nation, and only there, do we find in this matter, as in all other features of its religion, steady purification, elevation, teleology: the eye is ever directed to the brightening future; effort is always directed forward and upward; aspiration, not regret; stimulus to realize a perfection as yet unguessed, not vain admiration of a past which there was not even reason to imitate. This specially *teleological* character of the Jewish history, which prepared the way for Christianity, differentiates it from pagan religious histories. I do not forget that certain Fathers explained all pagan miracles as the jugglery of demons, and indeed all pagan "analogates" to Christianity as diabolic trickery aimed at puzzling believers and preventing conversions—regrettably, I think. Not that the possibility of "diabolic" intervention is for a moment to be denied.[3] But here the explanation is too easy, too mechanical; its framers stood too close to the facts to get a true perspective. And it admits of fatally direct retort. Eusebius, writing against Hierocles (though he usually, with a few other Fathers, rationalizes the miracles away), argues that Apollonius of Tyana may have cast out devils by means of a stronger devil (*Philostr. Op.*, Kayser's ed., § 457, p. 399), riskily, in view of Mt. 12^{24}.[4] Nor certainly

[1] Lect. XI. 18, etc. [2] Lect. X. 24.

[3] *Cf.* Lect. XXXVI. p. 21, etc.

[4] See Justin, *Apol.*, i. 23; *P.G.*, 6^{364}, 54–66, *ib.*^{408}, 78, *ib.*^{660}. Tertullian too appeals to diabolic agency: *Apol.*, 47; *P.L.*, 1^{519}; *de præscr. hær.*, 40, 2^{54}, etc. Firmicus Maternus, *de err. prof. rel.*, 22, 12^{1030}, etc. Augustine (*in Io. Ev.*, tr. vii.) had heard a priest (of Attis or Mithra) repeatedly argue, "Why become a convert? My capped God is already a Christian." But the Fathers, when arguing that the devils anticipated Christian rites, etc., *by misinterpreting prophecies*, seem to refute themselves by the singularly inept choice of diabolically misinterpreted

need we find difficulty because the Fathers seem here and elsewhere to confess that the pagan "analogates" *preceded* Christianity, though some rationalists have argued that this of itself proves Christianity *borrowed* from pagandom points in which it seems similar to it, *e.g.* its sacraments. (But *cf.* pp. 14, 56.) But if anything is clear, it is—what some have indeed made matter for reproach—that Christianity was supremely intolerant, exclusive. From the outset it had its "teaching," its "table"; it could not bear the works of the Nicolaïtans; it set every social and political and sentimental force in array against itself; it curses the "mysteries" even when it adopts—and adapts—their terminology; at baptism its catechumens spit in Satan's face. Hence that charge of *odium humani generis*—that it hated (or was hated by?) the whole human race—which stamps the first Christians isolated. To-day they are accused of plagiarism in gross and in detail, a charge which not even the fiercest of their foes, not Julian himself (who strove to model a pagan hierarchy on the Christian), lai atd their door.[1]

It may be of value to see in what relation the Christian religion was held to stand to circumambient and antecedent faiths by those who began to be reflexly conscious that some such relation other than that of *mere* antagonism was necessarily to be recognized.

For, after all, the Christian Fathers united in holding strongly to certain principles. First, to the Hebrews had been committed the revelation of the one true God; then, in Jesus Christ He had been fully and finally revealed. Yet to the whole race at the

prophecies they offer. Thus Dionysus is represented as a *bull* because a demon had read in Habakkuk 3^4, "*Cornua in manibus eius* (Vulg.); horns are in his hands." Is. 33^{16} is said to have been a prophecy of Christ's cave-birth, "imitated" by a skilful devil in the "rock-birth of Mithra" (Lect. XVI. 12).

[1] M. S. Reinach himself (*Cultes*, etc., ii. 227) exhorts us to imitate Julian's discretion here!

outset a revelation had been made; and, quite apart from such knowledge of God as human intellect could of itself reach, relics of that revelation, they could not but surmise, survived in pagan religions. But to disentangle what elements of those religions were such relics, and what were the creation of natural instinct and reason, was as impossible for them as for us to determine.[1] Moreover, it was increasingly realized that God had never left the world without grace; that man, though fallen, was restored and had the same vocation given to him as he once had lost—a vocation, that is, to a *supernatural* religion, one which, absolutely speaking, essentially transcended the exigencies, rights, needs, *plane* of his natural powers, but to which, now that he is called to it, he cannot but aspire and therefore he cannot but be helped. Hence, where before it had been necessary to insist on the gross polytheism of pagandom, it became possible to emphasize its latent theism, indeed monotheism. Whereas at first it was indeed almost disastrous to "rationalize" Christianity in order to recommend it to pagan philosophers, now it became legitimate to emphasize the manifold "appropriateness" of the Christian system to the requirements of human nature.[2] Not that it was ever forgotten that Christianity transcended and indeed transmuted those very elements it took over, consecrated, and never contemned.[3] This golden age began, practically

[1] Especially as Catholic theologians will teach that to Adam was given that amount of revelation as sufficed for him to act, for good or evil, as the spiritual parent of humanity. No one supposes that he was aware of details like the mixed chalice; the crucifixion between two thieves. . . . Yet that is the kind of detail which, in pagan cults, often distressed Christian apologists, or excites modern attacks, and has to be accounted for.

[2] As *historically* verified, not as discernible in that "human nature as such," which historically, after all, has never existed.

[3] Thus an excellent little anonymous treatise, *On the Vocation of All Peoples*, *P.L.*, $51^{647-722}$ (about 450), is careful not to argue that the pagans, not having God's grace, could not have been virtuous; but,

with Augustine (though he certainly had his predecessors), and continued roughly till 760 A.D., when the Mohammedan invasions sadly threw back the wider, more generous tendencies of thought.[1]

However, the Fathers had long expressed principles of most far-reaching import in the relation they discerned between the outer cult of revealed religion and the outer cult of pagandom. Briefly, human nature, everywhere identical, creates the same modes of self-expression, and needs similar nutriment. What differs is the soul (*supra*, p. 15); and even in pagandom, as we said, the spark of divine light, in human reason not abandoned by grace, survives.

Thus, on the one hand, something will persist in the partially regenerate souls that cross to Christianity, which may be regretted, and in time shall be purged out, but meanwhile is tolerated, though not *as part of* Christianity. "When you prove that one of ours is perverse," said Tertullian, "you, *eo ipso*, prove he is not one of ours."[2] Thus Christians still light "St. John's fires" — midsummer, sun-compelling, sympathetic magic.[3] They have preserved "holy" wells, which in reality are fairies'. In Brittany they have spread a meal, on All Souls' Day, for the dead, while the living eat apart by the fire. Ordeal was once approved, then tolerated, then condemned.[4] But these things are no part of Christianity. "The Church of God," said Augustine, "established amidst much chaff and many tares, tolerates many things; but what is against

that since they manifestly were virtuous, they clearly had had God's grace, which, by hidden ways, unguessed by theorists, however subtle and accurate, reached their souls.

[1] The amazing self-analysis and intuition of Augustine, his "safe audacity," is especially admirable when he considers his own experience of God's action on an unbelieving soul. See his *De vera religione*, *P.L.*, 34; and *De utilitate credendi*, *ib.* 42. "Help others," is his moral, "as God and good angels once helped you."

[2] *Adv. Nat.*, i. 5; 1^{565}.

[3] *Cf.* Lect. I. 10, etc.

[4] Numbers 5 (cf. Philostr., *vit. Apoll. Tyan.*, xxi. 301).

the faith or a good life, she neither approves nor disregards nor does."[1] Sane instructions given by Gregory the Great to Augustine of Canterbury enshrine a great principle. Bede says Gregory had at first desired the destruction of pagan temples. On reflection, however, he wrote as follows[2]:—

"The temples of idols (in England) must by no means be destroyed, but only the idols which are in them. Let water be blessed; let it be sprinkled in the temples; let altars be built, relics set there; for if the temples are well built, they must be transferred from the cult of demons to the service of the true God; that while the people sees that these its temples are not destroyed, it may lay aside error from its heart, and, recognizing and adoring the true God, may the more naturally hasten together to the places it has been accustomed to come to. And since they are wont to slay much cattle in the sacrifice of demons, they must have some part of the solemnity in this matter transformed, that on the day of the dedication or of the birthday of the holy martyrs whose relics are placed there, they may make booths of branches of trees round the self-same churches into which the temples have been altered, and celebrate the solemnity with religious banquetings; nor any more sacrifice animals to the devil, but slay animals for their food to the praise of God, so that while somewhat of the exterior joy is preserved for them, they may the more easily be able to lend themselves to the interior. For to cut off everything at once is, for uncivilized natures, obviously impossible, for even he who strives to reach the summits rises by steps and paces, and not by leaps. Even so to the Israelitish people in Egypt the Lord revealed Himself indeed, but none the less preserved in His own worship the custom of sacrifices which they used to offer to the devil, and indeed ordered them to slay animals in His own sacrifice, so that, their hearts being changed, they might relinquish somewhat of the sacrifice and keep somewhat, and thus, although the self-same animals were offered as ever had been, yet since they were immolated to the true God and not to the devil, the sacrifice in itself was not identical."[3]

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[1] *Ep. LV. ad Ian.*, c. xix. 35; 33^{221}. Augustine himself suppressed the pagan custom of feasting upon tombs. The Church could not assimilate, but rejected, the practice of putting a consecrated host into the mouth of corpses—a modification of "Charon's obol."

[2] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, i. 32; 30; *P.L.*, $95^{72, 70}$.

[3] Exactly the same principles and practice are related by Gregory of Nyssa in the case of Gregory of Cæsarea (*vit. Greg.*, *P.G.*, 46^{958}), and by

It were well worth reconstructing the Fathers' philosophy of the world's gradual conversion. God used the star, says Chrysostom,[1] to lead pagans to Jesus; nor must we condemn this condescension to their prejudices.

"Else were all the Judaic economy, too, to be condemned, the sacrifices, the purifications, the new moons, the ark, the very temple itself. For all these features too had their origin in gross heathendom [he says, Ἑλληνικῆς παχύτητος!]. But none the less, God, for the salvation of those that had been led astray, consented to be served by means of the very things which were wont to do service to the demons from without; yet He slightly modified them to wean the people gradually from their habits and lead them to the sublime philosophy."

Even Justin, who regarded the pagans rather as the inheritors of the Jews' ritual and doctrine than as their model, yet insists[2] that the elaborate ritual prescriptions were allowed to the Jews only as a condescension to their habits and prejudices. Melchisedek, Jerome says,[3] was a priest, so the Jews received the priesthood from the Gentiles, not the Gentiles from the Jews. We could add many to this list of quotations. We could dwell (*cf. supra*, p. 44) on the educative value, in the view of certain Fathers, of the Greek (especially Platonic) philosophy. "Philosophy," wrote Clement,[4] "was 'pedagogue' for the Greeks, as the Law was for the Jews." Heracleitus, said Justin, and the other Logos philosophers, were "Christians before Christ."[5]

Augustine, who hoped, however, that in some cases "what had been allowed to the people, in order to convert them, would be rejected by them, once they were converted." Ep. xxix. 9; *P.L.* 33^{118}.

[1] *Hom. in Mt.*, vi. 3; *P.G.*, 57^{65}.

[2] *Tryph.*, 19; *P.G.*, $6^{517\text{-}525}$. *Cf.* Tert., *adv. Marc.*, ii. 19; *P.L.*, 2^{306}; and still more emphatically Jerome, in *Ezech.*, xx. 23; 25^{194}: in *Jer.*, vii. 21, 24^{733}.

[3] *Ad. Evang.*, Ep. lxxiii., 2, 3; *P.L.*, 22^{677}.

[4] *Str.*, i. 25–29; *P.G.*, $8^{912\text{-}929}$.

[5] J., *Apol.*, 46; *P.G.*, 6^{397}. *Cf. ib.*^{336}; "what was done among the Greeks by means of Socrates by the Word was done *also* among the barbarians by the Word Himself, who took shape, became man, and was called Jesus

What we may look for, therefore, in the consciousness of the Fathers, is a profound conviction that Christianity has never been lacking from the beginning of the world.[1] And this, we saw, partly by reason of that "eternal philosophy" by which the intellectual soul tends irresistibly to the knowledge of its God, partly because God at the outset of human history gave to the race that revelation of Himself which, from the beginning, has been in it a germ of life and growth, but most of all (when *grace* became better and better understood) because God, having made man for supernatural union with Himself, presented to him that vocation and destiny even when man had fallen and forfeited it, and needed to have it restored to him. And his restoration was, anticipatedly, immediate. No space intervened between fall and promise of Redemption. The exquisite legend tells that from the very hour in which the fruit of the fatal tree was eaten, that tree which should be the ancestress of the tree of Calvary was indicated. The Lamb was slain from the beginning of the world. Christ's magnetism radiates backwards as well as forwards, through the ages; Calvary is the centre point of time, as once it was believed the centre of the earth; in all that has been and shall be, *Christus cogitatur*. The key to universal history is Christ.

Christ"! Far more important, because philosophically more profound and historically far more tenable, is the homily in which Gregory of Nazianzos traces the gradual revelation of God in history, the long education of humanity (*Or. Theol.*, v. 25; *P.G.*, 36^{161}). *Cf.* p. 70.

[1] Aug., 32^{603}, *cf.* 41^{609}, 40^{787}. Tertullian's "soul, by nature Christian," should be invoked with caution. His appeal was really to the natural religion, the fundamental theism witnessed to by the most instinctive movements of the soul. As for the full Christian revelation, that comes from without by revelation, and is laid hold upon by faith. Almost immediately after his assertion of the soul's "natural Christianity" (*Apol.*, 17; cf. *Test. an.*, 2; 5, etc.), he insists that men are *made*, not *born*, Christians. In *Test. an.*, 1, he repeats, "Thou art not, as far as I know, Christian. For one is made, not born, Christian." See A. d'Alès, *Théologie de Tertullian*, Paris, 1905, pp. 37–41.

Perhaps this wide and human and divine view became obscured in proportion as the rivalries of nations, the inroads of barbarians, the reconstruction of empires, the narrowing of horizons, conspired to becloud all notion of history; to "telescope" perspectives; to draw hard lines of demarcation between believer and unbeliever, and to make the notion of the crystallized, permanent, and immutable more attractive, and certainly more safe than that of development, interaction, and life. Anyhow, the golden age of scholasticism occupied itself far more with the study of Faith itself than with what it called the "preambles" of faith; the objects, not motives, of faith are discussed. Yet Anselm was an explorer—"apologetic" *defence* of Christianity was never quite forgotten. The inroads of new philosophies (Averroës, Avicenna, the Arabs with their Platonized Aristotle) are of enormous importance. The Toledo school of controversy, under St. Raymond of Peñafort, was of great significance. Aquinas utilized the treasures of the old Greek world even more boldly than had Augustine. Loudly decried at first, he conquered. The Paris University, the schools of the Mendicant Orders, became homes for the development of that "baptized" Aristotelianism which St. Thomas had fathered. Theology was building itself up in strength, and extending itself, and it continued to do this even when the Reformation tried to drive it back within its entrenchments and render it purely polemical. St. Thomas' great idea had been to set forth the truth—that was to be enough to recommend it![1] But the Reformation also made theologians reconsider the sources of their belief; by renewing its exegesis, theology was itself renewed; studies revive, especially the positive; Cajetan, Maldonatus, and Petau, are great names carrying us on to the era of "autonomy" of research,

[1] See the first ten chapters of his *Contra Gentiles.*

reached (alas!) through arid years of academic dispute, followed by vaporous periods of idealism, fideism, pietism. In our own time, perhaps, the categories of evolution, of social science, and the recognition of the all-importance of *facts*, have influenced, almost transformed, "apologetics." Certainly, they have practically created the so-called "science of religions" (a name for which we are in no way jealous), and have brought it to pass that in all apologetics the facts and hypotheses of that science must find consideration.

I have allowed myself what cannot but seem somewhat of a digression in order to show what are the thoughts which have proved forceful and fertile in this field, when they have been allowed to fulfil their vital impulse. I have in no sense meant to make a "history of apologetics," or to outline a new or ideal apologetic; but I have wished to show that in all periods men have felt that Christianity stands in a mysterious relation, as of contrast, so of likeness, to the "natural religions" of the world; that as between them and it there is assuredly a great gulf fixed, so surely has human thought been ever able to strain to the further side from this; so surely has human yearning been reaching out sad hands hence thither; because God Himself, whose home is on either shore, has first been holding out His arms to His children exiled upon one only. Indeed, the time has never been when that gulf was not bridged by grace. And, as now and for the future, so in the immeasurable past, "grace and truth cometh in Jesus Christ."

V

I propose now, in no greater detail, but in crudest summary, to indicate the attitude which a loyal observer of the facts, who is no less sensitive to their meaning and their soul, will adopt, in certain points

of prime importance, where Christianity has been placed in contact with its rival faiths.

First, when we consider the doctrine of the Trinity,[1] we shall not deny the existence of divine *triads*, *e.g.*, in Egypt (note that they were especially Father, Mother, Son), nor shall we at once seek their origin in a reminiscence of a primitive revelation. It is simpler, and far more scientific, to examine in each case the human necessities which led, *e.g.*, to the aggrandizing of a newly important worship without evicting two earlier cults ; or to the equally human instinct which sooner or later assigned a lesser deity to two older and greater ones, as son or daughter. When metaphysical considerations (as in India? China?) declare themselves, we shall find our attention more highly stimulated, and (unless I am wrong) our religious expectations correspondingly disappointed. The human disposition to group ideas or phenomena into *threes* may awaken interesting speculations ; but for the origin and history of our own dogma, we shall confine ourselves to such admirable monographs as Fr. Lebreton's *Origines du Dogme de la Trinité* (Paris, 1910), and will admire how detached it is at its origin from pagandom ; how rooted in its Judaic past; how infinitely transcendent of that past; how different in its metaphysical statement from anything that pagandom has to offer ; and, finally, how permanent—permanency being a characteristic of the pagan "Trinities" rarely achieved.

When we examine the very general doctrines which are roughly to be grouped as that of *Incarnation*, we shall again (where that is possible) turn to monographs on that topic or on allied topics, as on the *Logos* doctrine (in Lebreton's *Trinité*), or on the Virgin Birth, or on the incidents which repeat themselves in

[1] A reference to the Index will enable the reader to compare for himself the various allusions to this and the following notions in the preceding lectures.

the birth myths of Saviour heroes.[1] But we shall be always careful, in the first place, to see what exactly is meant by the "incarnations" we are told of, for the term has been used to cover all manner of "possession" of a man by a superior power—as in the case of wizards, medicine-men, prophets, heroes, "divine" kings or emperors. "Primitive" folks, Persia, the Hellenic, pre- and post-Alexandrian world, imperial Rome, all give us matter for reflexion. We shall notice that determination to have a God "manifest," with us, which peopled the world with the Deity *Epiphanes* in the most unlikely of human ostensories. We shall ask ourselves whether this renders it more, or less, likely that a genuine "incarnation" is to take place, or has taken place, and we shall demand with now passionate insistency that decisive "History of the Dogma of the Incarnation" which has yet to be written. So, too, we must ask for monographs on the great incidents of the life of the Incarnate, and most of all on His death and resurrection, which (we are told) in a hundred Asiatic and Semitic cults was yearly enacted by enthusiastic devotees. And with all our cold examination of the grounds of likeness or of contrast, of the possibility of interaction and interconnection, we shall never forget the human question, What was the *work in the world* done by these dying and rising gods? Did Attis transform his worshippers? Did men die for Tammuz? Do men live and suffer for Adonis? Has Osiris to-day bands of men and women sacrificing for his love, and for love of those whom he loved, all that life holds of brightest? Does that throw light on the true character and nature of the Christ whom so many would have us rank among the Krishnas and Mithras of antiquity?

We shall turn, as essentially knit up with this

[1] Incidentally we may emphatically express our hope that such monographs will grow and multiply, by Catholic authors, for Catholic readers, *in England*.

question of death and life from death, to that sacramental system which we observe in such full and living existence in the Catholic Church, and we shall examine more than ever closely the true nature of the sacred feasts of the pagans, the character of their ritual ablutions, their austere initiations. Our eyes will strain backwards even to those dim mists of prehistory, and we shall ask ourselves whether the searchlights, say, of S. Reinach, or of Robertson Smith, really penetrate them, or do not rather make of them, as it were, luminous veils—the denser for their very brightness—on which, often enough, the shadow of the manipulator of the searchlight may be seen disporting itself. Wisest of all shall we be, if we eagerly demand from our authorized guides new histories of the Eucharist (for example), and a new study of its relations with that Jewish past in which it found its prototypes, and we shall be grateful to that now famous Dominican school at Jerusalem which is so rapidly filling the deplorable gaps in our armoury.

We shall pass, in our examination, from the extreme of "external" religion, where ceremonies, vestments, dates of festivals, names (and even personalities) of saints, may be observed, to that innermost area where motives and values and the delicate elusive meanings of spiritual formulæ, injunctions, aspirations, are to be estimated. We shall study prayer, and see in what sense, if in any, a single human tendency can lead mankind from the "spell" of the magician to the "petition" of the "religions of contract," as they have been most inadequately called, and to the mystic communion of the ecstatic. We shall have subtly to distinguish, should distinction be required, between Aristotle and St. Paul, when they tell us, in almost identical language, to "think those things which are above," to serve and contemplate God, and thereby mould ourselves into His image. We shall have to ask what differing modes of asceticism distinguished the

flagellants of Cybele from those of Christ; what it is that justifies our saying (should we end by saying so) that the lofty mysticism of Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris*, and the impassioned prayers of Appuleius and the *Hermes*, are other than the spiritual flights of medieval visionaries.

And here we may have almost in despair to ask whether history is capable, by itself, of giving an answer to all these questions? There is a point at which they reach so deep down into the soul of him who puts them, that he may be forgiven for fearing that he can only definitely reply to them from the results of his own subjective experience, his power of judging, testing, trusting his own estimates. Thus Plato said it was no good asking the man of business, or the soldier, which was the highest, intensest pleasure —theirs, or that of the philosopher. They never could answer, because they never had experienced the philosopher's. He alone, having passed through those lower stages, or at least (as the result of being a genius), being able to imagine them, could reply that the philosopher's pleasure was highest and unique. So, only a monk, they say, can write the history of monasticism. So a Catholic, reading a clever novel like Mrs. H. Ward's *Helbeck of Bannisdale*, can exclaim, "There's hardly a mistake in it from beginning to end, and yet it's all quite wrong"; whereas in Mrs. Wilfred Ward's *One Poor Scruple*, he will at once discern the reality, the atmosphere he breathes, and cry out, "Yes, that's right." So a Catholic may indeed be—is certainly—in a uniquely advantageous position for recognizing, in alien foods, the presence or absence of those flavours to which his own diet has accustomed him; but, on the other hand, one who has lived always on those other foods might retort the argument, and assert that he is similarly in the only possible position to judge of the value, the life-supplying character of his own accustomed fare. Well, quite

apart from the fact that if we can say to him, "You, and those who live on your food, are thin and pale, while I and my fellows are strong," we have good ground for an induction—it also remains that if, on the one hand, A never can have the religious experience of B, and therefore will find it infinitely hard to understand what B's religion means for him; yet, on the other, faith does indeed illuminate, for the believer, *the facts*; they do not mean to the outsider what they do for him; the man who has lived his faith will be struck by what will convey nothing to one as yet unexposed even to the touch of God; only chastity understands itself, and the chaste. Thus a duty, grave in proportion to the vividness of his faith, is incumbent on the Catholic, to study the *objective* value of the proofs which mean so much to him, especially if he is by way of condemning one whose environment, history, heredity, prejudices, make it almost impossible but that what has appeared white to the Catholic should, to him, seem black. Faith and facts both give light; but they act and react; they illumine not from the outside alone, they are two rays of light, which *interpenetrate*.[1]

Be this as it may, we can safely, as Catholics, yet not presuming upon our dogmatic position, nor on the certainty of faith, exact from all who profess to examine with us the facts of religious history the observation of certain rules, this time explicitly in regard of their examination of Christianity; and by Christianity we mean both the profoundest and the most universally accepted dogmas of our faith—relating to God, Jesus Christ, and the duties and destiny of the soul,—and also that infinitely fuller and more complicated (for good or ill) presentment of Christianity which we find in the Catholic Church.

[1] Immense advantage would be gained by a study of Cardinal Cajetan's *Commentary on St. Thomas* (especially on II. ii. 1, 4). *Cf.* Appendix, p. 72, and *supra*, p. 15.

We protest, first, that facts ought not to be arranged in an ascending scale (thus: inspiration, possession, semi-divinity, incarnation: multiplicity of deities, triads of deities, trinities), as though all nations, or even one nation, had followed this simple and upward series from lower to higher, ending up, in one case, with the Catholic doctrine. In no case is this upward series historically verifiable in a full and satisfactory way; and never can such ameliorations as are traceable be shown to have *issued into* a dogma of the Catholic Church (*supra*, pp. 24 *seqq.*).

We must not, further, allow the dismemberment of Christianity, and the "paralleling" of its eschatology in Orphism, in the Avesta; of its moral aphorisms in the Buddhist or Rabbinic literature, and so on. Chopin's music is not just a quantity of notes; nor Turner's sunset a juxtaposition of chemical daubs. There is a mysterious *whole* in each case which perishes under brutal analysis, just as does the humanity of that which is laid on the dissecting table; and in no case will the scalpel reveal the soul. But on this we have nothing to add to what was said above (p. 15).

We must insist again that the facts alleged for comparison are those—not that at first sight appear startling, but such as are solidly worth mentioning. Thus more than one writer has remarked that a bas-relief shows the bread in the Mithraic "love-feast" "stamped with a Cross"! "How like the Host!" we are expected to exclaim. But no: the Mithraic "wafers" in that sculpture are really large loaves, notched into quarters (a perfectly common practice in Greek-Roman times) to facilitate their being broken. Similarly we have seen scholars, with much undoubted erudition, derive the Latin *missa* (mass) from the Persian *mizd*, *myazd*, or *myazda*, which they take to mean *wafer*, though it really means *festival*, and the word *missa* has quite

a clear origin in low Latin. One author, it is true, goes on to emphasize his contention that the "early Christians" were partial to such naturalizing of Eastern words, by quoting the line "*phase* vetus terminat." Unfortunately that is in a hymn written by St. Thomas Aquinas, hardly an early Christian.[1]

We must see too that analogies which are intended to impress us do not gain their impressiveness by being dressed up in Biblical or liturgical language. A triad should not be called a trinity; a book of prayers is not necessarily a missal; nor should a chief priest be called a pope. An unmarried goddess-mother, or human mother of a god-begotten hero was, alas! by no means necessarily a virgin. How reckless, then, for a well-instructed writer like Mr. W. H. Mallock to assert:[2] "It is enough here to refer to the miracle of a virgin birth which was ascribed to Gautama and Zoroaster, just as it has been to Christ"! *Just as* . . . Well, Professor Rhys Davids could calm the genuine alarm of Cardinal Newman (who had seen a highly "gospelized" account of the history of Buddha) by asserting, as to this point, "Buddhists did not ascribe to Gautama any divine birth *in the Christian sense*." It is, of course, easy and attractive thus airily to "refer" to matters which, however, if mentioned, should laboriously but far more loyally be distinguished and qualified.[3]

[1] C. W. King, *Gnostics*, ed. 2, 1887, p. 124. *Cf.* J. M. Robertson, *Pagan Christs*, 335–352; *Short History, etc.*, 235–239.

[2] *Nineteenth Century and After*, Sept. 1905, p. 488; *cf.* C. C. Martindale, *The Virgin Birth*, C.T.S., p. 23, etc.

[3] Incidentally we may implore our friends to make sure they understand our terminology. Constantly I have found it assumed, in conversation and in print, and that by the most erudite and (when dealing with long dead pagan faiths) most scrupulously careful persons, that *Immaculate Conception* means *Virgin Birth*. We have to be grateful if *infallibility* is not assumed to mean *impeccability*; and we are astounded when we find that a critic understands that when we say the Scriptures are *inspired*, we do not mean, necessarily, that their contents were *revealed*.

We will ask, too, that comparisons based on *mere* art[1] or ritual should be rejected no less vigorously than those based on, or created by, mere linguistic formula. Because, *e.g.*, the baby Hermes is represented in a cradle, just like that in which early art pictured Christ, there is no need for astonishment. If Christianity had introduced a new sort of cradle, as well as her new Christ, then we might well have wondered. . . .[2] Pagan artists were, especially the less skilful ones, conventionalists.

"The artist who sought to create a Christian figure instinctively made use of the imagery he had been taught, and had for so long reproduced; he adapted for their new setting, modifying them according to his ability, various figures he had painted in pagan houses, and the antique forms grew penetrated with the Christian spirit. Even as the *Orante* recalls the older *Pietas*, and the Good Shepherd, the *Endymion* or *Hermes Criophoros*, so we may recognize Danaë's chest now carrying Noah over the waves, Andromeda's monster swallowing Jonah. . . . All these figures were in the tradition of Classical art: the artist had but to externalize the idea they expressed by some symbol, some essential attribute. Noah has his dove, Daniel the lions, the Hebrew youths the furnace."[3]

We have said enough to show that ritual is, all the world over, so uniform, because so natural an expression of natural and universal emotions; dancing, prostration, procession; singing, shouting; vestments of priest, of altar, of image; incense, flowers, lights; oil, water, wine, bread, fire—how should these things not be used by all men who experience emotions ever generically identical? And the Church with forceful hand will modify, and with economy of invention will adopt, what she finds ready to her use in part or in whole.

[1] *Cf.* Lect. XVI. p. 26.

[2] J. M. Robertson, *Mythology and Christianity*, p. 330, etc.

[3] A. Pératé, *Historie de l'Art*, Paris, 1905, I. i. p. 12. M. Pératé rightly insists on the extraordinary purity of early Christian art, which yet in no way shrank from the portraiture of the nude.

We ask, further, what Dr Farnell calls[1] an "adjacent anthropology." If Christian rites and doctrines are being studied, let us examine Palestine, nearer Asia, and the Mediterranean basin before we hunt Scandinavia, Polynesia, and Mexico for terms of comparison. Thus a Jewish, not Mithraic, symbolism is to be seen in the early Christian practice of giving milk and honey to neophytes; though, curiously enough, it appears that from the West, and not from the old vestal hearth (yearly "renewed" on March 1), did the Easter fire (quite late) reach Rome.[2]

It is really only an extension of what was said above if we ask that such theories and conjectures be forbidden as to the ordinary man reveal themselves as study-made, academic, out of touch with life, however logically they may cohere, skeleton-like, highly organized but dead. Such is the result of a wholly irrational rationalist pre-conviction, not only that were there anything which transcended human nature, we could know nothing whatever about it, not even its existence, but that, as a matter of fact, there is no such transcendent world or force. Yet Christianity cannot *a priori* be labelled as a sum total of phenomena which must be exclusively and necessarily of the same kind exactly as all other phenomena of our observation. In spite of this we are plagued with systems of the highest ingenuity and interest, charming us with their delightful plausibility, till suddenly something breaks the spell, shatters the hypnotic reverie, makes us confess with a laugh that not for the world, however, would we believe it all happened "just like that." . . . Thus Professor Fairbairn could write of Herbert Spencer's theory that all religion was derived from Ancestor Worship:—

"In order that he may formulate his theory in a manner that proves it, Mr. Spencer has first to make his 'primitive man,'

[1] *Evolution of Religion*, p. 12.
[2] Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, p. 250. *Cf.* Lect. XIII. 9.

and this man is of course a purely imaginary creature, made in the study and after the image of his maker. And the religion attributed to him is as imaginary as himself; for it is put together by a method that knows no order, and follows no law. Time and place, race and racial relations, historical antecedents and conditions, degree of culture and moment of development, are (in the matter of proof and method of treatment) utterly ignored. . . . His case in no way rests on history or criticism; it is an evolution from consciousness, a theory transcendently deduced, ethnographically illustrated, but in no case historically proved."[1]

Books written by these theorists contain, as a rule, an enormous apparatus of historical facts, but nothing which can for a moment be regarded as history. That, if we may say so, seems to be the case with learned volumes like *Pagan Christs*. They contain a religio-sociological theory of an ingenious description, copiously illustrated by known, but unrelated facts; much hypothesis; little historical synthesis.

And, still less, the *soul* which, of all realities, even of history, is the supreme reality! A fundamental pre-requisite for any study of Comparative Religion is an intimate sympathy with the soul of what we study. The Christian religion stands alone, at any rate *in its power*. It is much to note the effect of its doctrines, leaving aside for a moment the question of their origins, upon those that hold them. As we asked above, who now cares, who even cared, about the birth of Perseus? But Christmas has lifted out of loneliness millions of lives. Attis, Adonis, other heroes "died and rose again," yet "there are no moral and spiritual ideas in the worship at all, no conception of a resurrection that might stir human hopes";[2] but the blood of countless martyrs has been shed because the divine blood of Calvary has flowed first; countless hidden lives of purity and self-sacrifice are being lived for the sake of the divine life lived two thousand years ago, because of the lessons of its

[1] *Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, 206–208.
[2] Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, ii. 649.

end, and the hopes of Easter Day.[1] No; we dare now here to affirm what we surmised above: the truth about the soul can be known by soul-contact only; mere balancing of phrases, juxtaposition of events, mechanical dovetailing of phenomena into a sequence, will not do. We must not ask whether the words of Marcus Aurelius happen to coincide with those of Paul or of the *Imitation*; nor just put side by side the facts that Dionysus and Christ were alike said to be born of God and of a woman; nor fail to ask if even a coherent "rationalist" sequence of cause and effect is really *enough* in the case of Christianity to account for what has happened and is happening.

* * * * * *

Working with principles like these, let us beg of students to look honestly at the objective facts, and then ask themselves whether they can distinguish in Christianity no *forces* peculiar to itself which have had a powerful and peculiar effect upon the history of the individual soul and of society. In the lecture on the *Greek Testament,* I ventured to suggest that the supreme value given by Christ to the individual conscience, to each man's soul, as the son of the divine Father, and brother accordingly, in an infinitely sublime relationship of every other human soul, was one such force. Dare we indeed deny that it is this force which has waged constant war against the anarchic selfishness of brute force, and even against the deplorable cruelties of Christian men, or groups, or epochs, while, for instance, all the natural kindness and justice of

[1] "If thou believest not what the pagans believe, hopest not what the pagans hope, nor lovest what they love," wrote Augustine (*Serm. de Kal.* ii. 2; *P.L.*, 38^{1025}), "thou art gathered from the Gentiles, thou art drawn forth from them, that is, thou art 'withdrawn' from them. Fear not then if in body thou must consort with them, since in soul thou art so far." Surely this sentence is wholly here in place.

the pagan world could never assure to women a stable and lofty position in social and family life,[1] nor to children a place indicated by belief in their *essential* value as souls, created by God, and for Himself? Even the remote and strange figures of a Debora, a Sara, an Esther, have had an *influence* which never had the heroines of high tragedy or pagan history—an Antigone, an Alcestis. Hence was it that though Christ said nothing of education, and though the universities of the Greek world—Athens, Alexandria, Carthage—were famous, and state patronage and initiative (as under the Ptolemies, the Antonines) munificent, and the ideals of a Plato and Aristotle high, yet has it been the force put by Christianity into human thought—the determination to know the universe, and man, and God in the light of that divine revelation now given to man—that has developed an education higher and purer in motive, and hence more fertile in result. And it has been this self-same conviction of the irreducible rights of the individual conscience which, while emancipating education from its enslavement (even in noble schemes like Plato's) to the exigencies of state efficiency, modified the theory of the state itself, though Christ preached no politics. Christianity will have no Cæsar-god—incarnate whether in emperor, president, or parliament; yet it has preserved, transcended, and vitally reinspired all that was best in Plato's great vision of the state, which, through Aristotle's systematization, Alexander's world-wide conquests, the Stoic vision of the City of God, the divine world-empire, through the concrete majesty of Rome and the masterpiece of Augustus, still lived in the work of a Gregory VII., as in the ideals of Dante and the philosophies of Aquinas. Thus has the Hebrew kingdom, developed

[1] The paradoxes of a Bebel need not delay us. Alas, that the popular rationalist propaganda of this country should be attaching importance to this flinging of a gauntlet in the face of history!

in Christianity, come to grow, until no best detail or ideal of the old world is omitted from its final form. In Christianity the great antinomy of state and individual could be transcended, once the equality of all in a divine sonship had been recognized, the ultimate source of authority and the supremacy of conscience, but never before. And in proportion as the wider view and the universal interests gained in power, the same force was revolutionizing the esteem and treatment of the sick, the poor, the contemptible: the slave, the sinner, the pariah find themselves co-heirs of heaven with the elect of this world's fortune, nay, with good probability, have precedence in the kingdom over these.

In all ages, too, it is the *Real Presence* that has stimulated men to *art.* For Puritans of all ages, God is aloof and cold: their heresy is accordingly iconoclast. Islam adores a God disincarnated: its art has dwindled into arabesque. For Greeks, the divine was but the human made more lovely: their art is exquisite, grand, polished—yet not transcendent. The Hindus' heaven was near, but vile: their art was exuberant in consequence, but mad. The Hebrew, to whom image-making was, in the interests of his monotheism, forbidden, yet learnt to see God in the universe; and his treatment of nature is (all will confess) more lofty, more intimate—in the nature psalms, for instance—than the Greek, just because, surely, that idea he had of God, and of nature, was in each case more pure. But in the Catacombs it is that gaiety, humanity, purity, solemnity, and the divine are first found linked together, full of that promise of development and life which Christianity has faithfully kept.[1] That is to say, that Christianity, by solving the great question of the purity and transcendence

[1] Will it be questioned that to-day, when we are reading Christianity out of life, our art galleries are fuller than ever of the triumphs of technical skill, but emptier than ever of inspiration?

and of the proximity of God, has provoked an art of unequalled quality.

So, too, have Christian discipline and aspiration produced an asceticism which alone in the world's history of "mysticism" has preserved a psychic balance. In pagandom, the pure religions were the sober and unimaginative, as in Persia and early Rome; the mystical religions, which aspired to divine union or heroic renunciation, by an inevitable necessity seem to have run riot into bloodthirsty rituals and consecrated licence; so the Hindus; so the mystic rites of Greece and Asia. Even the moral consciousness of certain races, developed almost into scrupulousness, could not exclude gross myth, ceremonial prostitution, and even human sacrifice. Nor need we remind readers of the lecture on *Theosophy*, that just as religious philosophy had reached its highest, most mystical, most Christian-looking climax in the Neo-platonists, the balance tilted, and it sank rapidly into an extravagance, puerility, and perversity barely reached at any other period.

Loyal research into facts, and sensitive appreciation of the spirit that lived in those facts, will, if research be pursued along these lines, be of the highest possible import for the student.

Assuredly it will bring home to him the fact that the relation of Christianity to other faiths is at least a problem, not lightly to be solved in either direction. It will not be enough to say that Christianity is a purely natural growth, inevitably born at a certain crisis of the Jewish world, and developing to maturity on lines fixed for it by that Hellenized Roman Empire which formed its next environment. It will be too much to say that it trampled out of recognition the world it entered; and too little, that its exterior took on here and there reflexions from the colours of its circumstances.

The first supreme generalization to be made will be,

that Christianity succeeds where the others fail. The syntheses, the reconciliations, the solutions are hers; the noble efforts, the disastrous failures, are her rivals'. The moral enigma—self-realization or self-abnegation?—the social and political enigma—shall the unit be the individual or the community?—the intellectual struggle—faith or reason?—the spiritual mystery—other-worldliness, or daily duty? . . . . in *practice* these problems solve themselves for one who *lives* Christianity. And men can live Christianity, as they *could not* live the best of pagan systems. Christianity can do what it promises; and Christians can do what it exacts. Pagan reformers, we have seen, flag at the critical point: pagan moralities droop, and philosophies swerve, and holy books stammer suddenly into folly. Success seems certain; but nothing really for them is certain, but recoil. The *results* of Christianity show that we need a science of *ends*, would we be sure that our diagnosis of the *origin* is accurate.

It is at this point, we think, that the professed "apologist" may offer his help to the enquirer. For at least a man of good will and honest purpose will be, by this time (if he has really read, studied, meditated — and especially if he has prayed), on his knees, as it were, before the august vision of Christianity. He will have seen—no coercive, violent proof, but convergent indications, to which must be added the supremely, the astoundingly significant fact that all the indications do converge. He will realize that here is no question, indeed, of coercive proof. Augustine is never tired of telling us, equivalently, what he says in his *Confessions* (vi. 4, 5; *P.L.*, 32^{722}): "In this subject matter it is hopeless to find truths brutally forced on one, as that '3+7=10.'"[1]

[1] Cf. *Fid. Rer.*, *ib.*, 40^{171}. *Cf.* Ollé Laprune, *La Certitude Morale*, 1880; Harent, art. "Croyance," *Dict. Théol. Cath.*, iii. 2365; Suarez, *De anima*, i. 10, 35; H. Bremond, *Études*, lxx. p. 755, etc.; *Dublin Review*, xiii., 1879, p. 428; xvi. p. 254.

Moral certainty is the highest he will reach, and this is not so called because the data on which it is based are merely "probable"; but because the *moral* qualities of the soul are called into play; not imperfection in the object of study is suggested, but activity in the student. He then will advance towards the great mystery offered to him, and advance not frivolously, contemptuously, languidly, irritably, recalcitrant. He will come with hands humbly stretched to take what he shall be given, nor will his Heavenly Father, to whose tendance he must here be left, give him a mere stone.

VI

We will conclude, therefore, by stating the interpretation of the facts with which the Catholic is prepared; the vision into which, under the double light of reason and of faith, they group themselves.

God made man, we know, for Himself. Hence man is restless till he rest in God, and towards that union (which, our faith teaches, is to be "supernatural") he ever aspires, and can never, by his own efforts, attain. Both history, then, and creed show us man as actuated by an irresistible impulse towards a goal which alone he cannot win to. But this "supernature" meets a nature exquisitely fashioned in view of itself, and is on its side exquisitely adapted to the nature it is to perfect nor alone transform. The heavenly city descends indeed "from heaven," but it comes as a bride: the old world is indeed to "pass away," but only because it is so married to the new, that in the "new creation" which results nothing is annihilated. "There is no more sea," wrote St. John, using the symbol, for the Jew, of tumult and anarchy; for the Greek, of barrenness. Towards this "marriage" of himself with the Divine, mankind most of all creation struggles forward, for all creation is active, groaning and travailing together—"life is ever effort," said

Aristotle with St Paul, speaking things wiser than he knew! But the Apostle could complete the sublime philosophy. From of old, Christ's spirit had been in the world, joining power and wisdom to its helplessness and inexperience even of what itself it wanted. Even now, the travailing is not altogether over. Christ is still to be "fully formed." The Spirit and the Bride still bid Him "come"!

The ubiquity of this effort, of this travail, is marvellously made clear for us by the history of Religions, and also its intensity. And, further, that it is no vague, undifferentiated tendency, but to a determined goal. "And perchance it is not what they fancy, or would avow, that they are pursuing," said Aristotle of the chaotic strain of living things seen all around him, "but their objective is identical." Identical even in details—details mistaken at times for ends, but passing always into means, and the only "natural" means for the attainment of the true end. "Natural," we say; for since God's restoration of man to his pristine destiny, the supernatural has in a true sense been made natural for him, and in fact it has become less true to call developed Religion "natural" because it corresponds with man's instinctive efforts to construct it, than to call these "natural" because they help to carry him towards that perfection now promised to his nature in the supernatural union he is to have with God. Supernatural religion is therefore no bread thrust into the mouth of one who knows no hunger; no language spoken to men who are both deaf and dumb: all through their history men have been striving to cheat their hunger on what most resembles the food they starve for; have been alive to the voices in the universe which seem most like the voice they know they ought to hear; have always tried themselves to speak that language. History is full of swift gleams of intuition, of stammered phrases; the swirling mists and sudden silences have never

persuaded men that music was impossible and the "hid battlements of eternity" no more existent.

"Thou hast no power, nor mayst conceive of Mine," said the human voice through the thunder; "but love I gave thee with Myself to love." And, as we have so often said, Christianity not only explains *what* mankind was striving after, not only is exquisitely suited to his nature when he has got it, but is, on its dynamic side, alone powerful enough to strengthen him to success. When first we can discern mankind, we see him as a creature not merely weak, but crippled and worse than stunned. He struggles on to hands and knees; with tragic resolution he endeavours to crawl forward; he forces himself to raise his face towards the sky. His short-sighted movements, for he stumbles even when for a short space he goes rapidly, might seem to the angels, looking, like the fantastic evolutions of some crazed thing rather than the forward progress of a creature of God. Sometimes he falls into ditches and wallows in mire. Sometimes he foolishly tries to sit still, protesting he has reached his goal. But always the fiery sword prevents him making Paradise of any halting place, and the armed angel stands, too, not far down the innumerable side paths along which he is constantly trying to escape. Thus move he ever does towards the Good, "feeling sure *it must be something*," as Plato pathetically said, two millenniums ago. Precisely when he was most eager, active, and unsuccessful, God took him in His arms, and, lifting him, set him down at Bethlehem, whither even by himself he had continually been trying to attain, and had not been able.

Christianity has explained man to himself. It is the soul which knits into intelligibility the seemingly chaotic forces of humanity. For not one of human instincts has it no response. On the contrary, it convinces man that on account of itself, they are there. *Christus cogitabatur.* Christianity not only explains,

but justifies, the efforts, successes, and failures of the history of each man and of the world.

To a Catholic, of course, who lives his faith, Christianity is its own defence, justification, and reward. Moreover, his eyes enlightened by the light of Christian experience, he can judge of the power of its credentials as an outside student cannot. Anyhow, he will not feel the need of journeying afar to the lands of alien faith to find out the beauties of his own. But what may be unattractive as mere exploration, may invite, allure, compel him as a missionary enterprize. "Come over into Macedonia and help us," sighed the pagan in Paul's vision. Paul went and helped that desolate people into Heaven. Millions to-day ask us to help them, in whose hands are the light and the bread of life. Let us "go over" not in scorn, self-complacency, irritability. When we see their struggles, let us be ever more sympathetic with the effort to seek, than contemptuous of any failure to find. Let us own ourselves awestruck when we meet everywhere the mystery of God's grace, soliciting the soul, resisted by human weakness and perversity, but yielded to (we are happy to think) sufficiently to make the world-wide outlook no scene of desolation. Necessary, universal, indestructible is the Godward impetus in man; not for nothing has God put it there, but in view of the day when all things shall be made perfect into one, and that One, Jesus Christ.[1]

[1] The lectures on the modern sects of Christianity were included in the plan of this series before it came into the hands of the present editor. They are retained in no controversial, polemical, or even apologetic spirit. The *expository* character of the lectures has been, we trust, observed in such measure as was possible, and we fully recognize that a bitter, contemptuous, angry tone would nullify their claims to the scientific spirit as completely as it would violate the Christian spirit which will animate even the severest critic of a faith not his own. A Catholic, however, will not for a moment disguise his conviction that he has history here too upon his side, and that the results have proved that it is never legitimate to rend Christ's seamless robe, however deeply His foes, or would-be friends, have stained it.

APPENDIX A

SOME elements of a profound lesson in the philosophy of revelation seem contained in the fifth "Theological" oration of St. Gregory of Nazianzos, c. xxv.; *Patr. Gr.*, xxxvi. 161.

"Universal history relates two great revolutions in human life: they have been called Two Testaments, or two shakings of the earth, for the notoriety of the event. The first revolution was from idols to the Law; the second, from the Law unto the Gospel. And a third shaking of the earth the Gospel announces to us, the passage hence thither into the world where naught is shifting any more, naught is any more unstable. Now the Two Testaments have had an identical characteristic. What is that? The transition was in neither case made *in a mass*, nor at the first thrust of the given impetus. And why so? The point is important. We were not to be coerced, but persuaded. What is done against the grain has no stability. Look at a river, which you can violently check; or a growing plant. But what is done voluntarily is at once more lasting and more safe. The one characteristic belongs to coercion; the other fits our case. The one, to the 'sweet reasonableness'[1] of God; the other, to the irresponsible action of a tyrant. Hence God was far from wishing to thrust His benefits upon the reluctant, but was fain to do good to men who would accept it. Thus, like a schoolmaster or a physician, part of our inheritance He subtracts from us, and part He permits us, indulging us with somewhat that may make for our pleasure. For not easy is the change from ingrained custom and from what long years have consecrated. What I mean is, that the first covenant cut away the idols, but

[1] We may be forgiven for using Matthew Arnold's phrase, which to our thinking exactly expresses Gregory's ἐπιείκεια.

conceded the sacrifices; the second stripped away the sacrifices, but hindered not circumcision: and when once men had accepted the first restrictions, they yielded up that too which had been yielded to them: sacrifices, to wit, in the first case; in the second, circumcision; and became, in place of heathen, Hebrews, and from Hebrews, Christians, by gradual stages being led unconsciously (κλαπέντες) to the Gospel. To this I am able to compare the case of Theology,[1] except that it took an exactly opposite direction. For *there*, a revolution is effected, by gradual diminutions; *here*, a perfectioning, by gradual additions. This is what happened: the Old Covenant proclaimed the Father clearly; the Son, more dimly. The New revealed the Son, and did but suggest the divinity of the Spirit. But now the Spirit has made Himself a citizen amongst us, and with greater clearness provides the explicit manifestation of Himself. For unsafe had it been, when the Father's divinity was not yet acknowledged, to announce explicitly the Son; nor, when that of the Son was not yet accepted, to saddle us (if I may dare speak so boldly) with the Holy Spirit, lest, like men weighed down with food that is too heavy, or turning eyes yet dimmed to the light of the sun, we should risk failure even in what was within our powers. But by these gradual additions, or, as David says, ascents, by gradual stages of advance from glory to glory, the light of the Trinity was to shine forth ever more resplendently. For this same reason, I imagine, the Spirit consorted even with the disciples only by degrees, exactly proportioning Himself to the strength of their receptivity: in the beginning of the Gospel, accomplishing the miracles; after the Passion, being breathed upon them; after the ascension, appearing in fiery tongues. You see now the gradual series of illuminations that have shone upon us."

[1] *I.e.* the Christian Revelation.

APPENDIX B

WE translate a part of the short homily on St. Luke 24^{13-35}, by St. Gregory the Great, referred to on p. 55. It will be found in Migne's *Patr. Lat.*, lxxvi., 1181–1183:

"You have heard, my dear brothers, that to two disciples as they walked in the way, not believing on Him, yet conversing of Him, did the Lord appear; but in a form that they would recognize He showed not Himself to them. And thus the thing that was being done within them, in the eyes of their heart, did the Lord do from without, to their bodily seeing. For themselves, within their souls they were both loving and doubting; and He, the Lord, outside them, was both present, yet revealed not who He was. To the men that were conversing of Him offered He His presence. From them that did doubt of Him hid He the vision of recognition. Even so He showed Himself unto them in body, as He existed within them in their souls. They were to be tested, to see whether they who as yet loved Him not as God, at least might have kindliness for Him as fellow-traveller. They set the table; they place the food before Him; and the God whom in the exposing of Holy Writ they had not known, in the breaking of bread they recognize."

The homely sentences of the Pope repeat the doctrine that to those who seek, and fail to wrest from the "objective evidence" the solution of their enigmas and the satisfaction of their hopes, the truth draws, nevertheless, more nigh; His veiled communications set their hearts burning, reinterpreting for them the old facts in which they had found no meaning hitherto, preparing them thus to recognize the final revelation. And then the vision vanishes, leaving a life to be lived, and strength to live it.

CONTENTS OF VOLUMES

I

	Introduction	THE EDITOR.
I.	The Study of Religions . .	L. DE GRANDMAISON.
II.	The Religion of China . .	L. WIEGER.
III.	Celtic Religion	Prof. J. MACNEILL.
IV.	Buddhism	Prof. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.
V.	Hinduism	E. R. HULL.
VI.	The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria	A. CONDAMIN.
VII.	The Religion of Ancient Syria .	G. S. HITCHCOCK, D.D.
VIII.	The Religion of Egypt . .	A. MALLON.

II

IX.	The Religion of the Great Kings	THE BISHOP OF SALFORD.
X.	The Religion of the Avesta .	Prof. A. CARNOY.
XI.	The Religion of Ancient Greece	J. HUBY.
XII.	The Religion of the Athenian Philosophers	H. BROWNE.
XIII.	The Religion of Early Rome .	C. C. MARTINDALE.
XIV.	The Religion of Imperial Rome	C. C. MARTINDALE.
XV.	Ancient King-Worship . .	C. LATTEY.
XVI.	Mithraism	C. C. MARTINDALE.

III

XVII. The Hebrew Bible . . . G. S. Hitchcock, D.D.
XVIII. The Greek Testament . . C. C. Martindale.
XIX. The Early Church . . . C. Lattey.
XX. St. Augustine . . . . C. C. Martindale.
XXI. Gregory VII. . . . . Dr. A. Fortescue.
XXII. Aquinas . . . . . Vincent McNabb, O.P
XXIII. The Council of Trent . . Mgr. C. J. Cronin.
XXIV. The Modern Papacy . . Joseph Rickaby.

IV

XXV. Eastern Churches . . . Dr. A. Fortescue.
XXVI. The Korân . . . . E. Power.
XXVII. The Thirty-nine Articles . A. H. Lang, M. A.
XXVIII. Lutheranism . . . . J. Bourg.
XXIX. Wesleyanism . . . . A. Burbridge.
XXX. Presbyterianism . . . M. Power.
XXXI. Modern Judaism . . . G. S. Hitchcock, D.D.
XXXII. Unitarianism . . . . G. S. Hitchcock, D.D.

V

XXXIII. The Religion of "Primitive" Races . . . . Mgr. A. Le Roy.
XXXIV. The Religions of Japan . A. Dahlmann.
XXXV. Theosophy . . . . L. de Grandmaison.
XXXVI. Spiritualism . . . . Mgr. R. H. Benson.
XXXVII. Christian Science . . . H. Thurston.
XXXVIII. The Cults and Christianity; Conclusion . . . . C. C. Martindale.
XXXIX. Index.

INDEX[1]

(*The heavy figures indicate the number of each Lecture.*)

Abyssinian Church, **25**, 12, *cf.* 26.
Achaemenid Kings, **9**, 3, 8; **14**, 5; **15**, 2; *cf.* Great Kings, Religion of; Avesta, Mithraism.
Adam, *cf.* Sin (original); Yama, Yima, Jimmu Tenno, Revelation, Cosmogony.
Adonis, 7, 10, 23; **11**, 18; **14**, 13; **38**, 26, 52; Adonai a title of Yahweh, **17**, 13.
Æons, **35**, 29–31.
Aerolites worshipped, **11**, 3.
Africa, religions of "Primitives" in, **33**, *passim*.
Agni, **5**, 2.
Agnosticism: Greek, **11**, 25, 26; **12**, 4, 7; Roman, **13**, 21–24, 26; Buddhist, **4**, 16; not in Augustine, **20**, 14, 26; nor Aquinas, **22**, 7, 8; *cf.* Rationalism, certainty, proof.
Agrarian religion, **10**, 24; **11**, 20; **13**, 5–9; **38**, 26; **1**, 4, 5; *cf.* Corn-spirit; Tammuz, etc.
Agrippa I., worshipped, **15**, 22.
Ahriman, **9**, 5; **10**, 14, 18.
Ahura Mazdah (Aura, Ormuzd), **9**, 3, 12, and *passim*; **10**, 15, and *passim*.
Al-Ghazālī, **26**, 26–28.
Alexander Abonoteichos, **14**, 25.
Alexander the Great, worshipped, **15**, 1; **11**, 28; **15**, 3.
Alexandrian Judaism, *cf.* Judaism, Philo.
Altar, the Christian, **19**, 19; *cf.* Mass; Sacrifice.
Altruism, in Theosophy, **35**, 19; Christian, **38**, 61; Buddhist, **4**, 24–29; *cf.* Renunciation, Charity, Amida Buddha.
Amaterasu, **34**, 4, 10, 12.
Ambarvalia, **13**, 8.
Ambrose, St., **20**, 7, 20; **14**, 7.
America, Primitive religions in, **33**, 21; Protestant Church in, **27**, 13.
Ameshas-Spentas, in early Mazdeism, **9**, 18; Gâthas, 10, 15; later Mazdeism, **10**, 12, 17. *Cf.* Vohu Manah, Logos, Angels.
Amida Buddha (Amitâbha), **34**, 18, 20, 27, 28; **4**, 22; **2**, 26; **35**, 10. *Cf.* Altruism.
Ammonius Sakkas, **35**, 8, 28. *Cf.* Neoplatonism.
Amon Ra, **8**, 9, 13.
Anabaptists, **27**, 8, 10, 14, 18, 23, 28.
Anâhita, **9**, 15; **10**, 20; **14**, 12; 16, 22.
Ancestor worship, **1**, 8; **38**, 23; Japan, **34**, 10; China, **2**, 3; Brahminism, **4**, 1, 2; *cf.* Family; Dead, cult of.
Angels, **10**, 15 (*cf.* Fravashis), **21**, 31. In Islam, **26**, 20; Theosophy, **35**, 13; Gnosticism, **35**, 29–31 (*cf.* Æons); Spiritualism, **36**, 22; Guardian angels, **9**, 21; **10**, 17; **14**, 13. *Cf.* Demonology, Spirits.
Anglican Church, **27**; and Judaism, **31**, 13, 14. *Cf.* Articles, The Thirty-nine.
Animal worship: Egypt, **8**, 11, 18, 25, 27; Greece, **11**, 5. *Cf.* bull, **11**, 5; **16**, 13; eagle, **11**, 5; horse, **5**, 15; **11**, 5; owl, **11**, 5; pig, **11**, 25; serpent, **11**, 5; **35**, 31; tortoise, **2**, 3; woodpecker, **13**, 3; dove, **11**, 5; **7**, 20; *cf.* totem?

[1] See note on last page

Animism, 1, 4; 38, 23; 1, 20; 11, 4.
Anselm, St., 20, 15, 26, 29; 35, 17.
Anthesteria, 11, 7.
Antinous, Apotheosis of, 15, 19.
Antiochus Epiphanes, 15, 7, 21.
Antisemitism, 31, 18.
Antitrinitarians, 32, 18.
Antoninus Pius, 14, 27.
Antonius, Marcus, Apotheosis of, 15, 8.
Aphrodite, 11, 18, 10, 15; *cf.* Venus, Atar-gatis, Ishtar, Ashtart.
Apis, 8, 8, 11.
Apocalypse, St. John's, date of? 18, 2; disputed, 18, 3; described, *ib.*, 30–32; rejected by Reformers, 18, 3. Jewish, 18, 6, 9.
Apocryphal New Testament books, 18, 3; 35, 30, 31; rejection of O.T. deutero-canonical books as "apocryphal," 17, 3; 23, 5; 27, 11, 12.
Apollo, 11, 17.
Apollonius of Tyana, 14, 21; 35, 8, 23; 38, 39, 41; *cf.* Miracles.
Apologetics, 38, 49; 20, 15.
Apotheosis: *cf.* King-worship; Agrippa, Antinous, Antiochus Epiphanes, Marcus Antonius, Augustus, Julius Cæsar, Hero-worship; in China, 2, 29.
Appuleius, 8, 31, 32; 14, 11; 38, 39, 41.
Aquinas, St. Thomas, 22. *Cf.* 12, 30; 18, 17; 24, 12; 32, 6, 9; 38, *passim.*
Arabia, Pre-Islamic, 26, 1; Christian, 26, 4.
Arcane, Discipline of the, 35, 26.
Ares, 11, 10, 19; *cf.* Mars.
Arian heresy, 32, 13; 26, 2.
Aristides, 14, 24.
Aristotle, 12, 23–29. And St. Thomas Aquinas, 22, 8, 10, 15, 16, 26; *cf.* 20, 20; 24, 12; *cf.* Scholasticism, Philosophy, Proof, Reason, Rationalism.
Armenian Church, 25, 10, 14–16, 29.
Arminians, 29, 12.
Art and Christianity, 38, 58, 63.
Artemidorus, 14, 25.
Artemis, 11, 6, 18.
Articles, Organic, 24, 2, 22; The Thirty-nine, 27.
Aruntas, The, 38, 22; 33, 21.
Arval Brothers, 13, 32; their hymn, *ib.*
Aryan "immigration"? 5, 1.
Asceticism, Brahmin, 4, 6; Buddhist, 4, 9, 10, 25; in Japan, 34, 25, 26; Hindu, 5, 3; Syrian, 7, 23; at Rome, 14, 8–15; Mithraic, 16, 15, 18, 27; Christian, 18, 7, 8, 23, 25; 38, 53, 64; Manichean, 20, 5; 22, 19; Albigensian, 22, 19; Aquinas, *ib.*; in Augustine, 20, 24; in Theosophy, 35, 18; in Gnostic sects and Neoplatonism, 35, 30, 31. *Cf.* Ethic, Renunciation, Chastity, Penance, Fasting.
Asha, 10, 14; Asha Vahishta, 10, 19.
Ashtart, 7, 13–14, 20. *Cf.* Ishtar, Atar-gatis.
Asklepios (Æsculapius), 11, 5; 14, 24; 38, 41; *cf.* Miracles.
Asmodeus, 10, 31.
Asoka, King, 9, 4; 4, 24; 35, 21.
Asshur, 6, 17.
Assyria, Religion of, 6; relation to Babylonia, 6, 5; Cosmogony, 9; hymns, 16; Ethic, 20–25; relation to Old Testament, *ib.*, 27–32. And Mithraism, 16, 6.
Astarte, *cf.* Atar-gatis, Ashtart.
Astral medium, 36, 7, 24; plane, 35, 14; body, 35, 20.
Astrology in China, 2, 2, 6; Babylon, 6, 13; Augustine, 20, 6: *cf.* Solar cult; Fatalism; and see 38, 27; 1, 13 (Astrolatry); 35, 22.
Atar-gatis, 7, 12; 11, 28; *cf.* 14, 12, 14; *cf.* Ashtart, Ishtar?
Athanasian Creed, 27, 13.
Athene, Pallas, 11, 17.
Athens, 12, 2; Philosophers of, 12; Christianity's debt to, 12, 30; *cf.* Plato, Aristotle.

Atlantis, 35, 14.
Atma, 35, 15.
Atonement, Day of, 17, 24; 31, 28. Of Christ, 18, 14 (Synoptists), 22, 23 (John), 26 (Paul), 30, 31 (Apocalypse). In Augustine 20, 28–30 (*cf.* Anselm); Aquinas, 22, 17. In Trent, Reformers, *cf.* Original Sin, Grace, Justification. In Theosophy, 35, 17. In other religions, *cf.* Sacrifice, Taurobolium, Scapegoat, Pharmakos.
Attis, 14, 14.
Augsburg, Confession of, 28, 9, 26, 4. Peace of, 28, 11. Auguries (*and* Auspices), 13, 23.
Augustine, St., 20. Life, 2–14; debt to Plato, 12, 31; 20, 7–10; to Paul, 18, 18.
Augustus, Emperor: his reforms, 14, 1, 2; virtues worshipped, 14, 5; genius worshipped, *ib.*; apotheosis, 15, 10.
Aurelius, M., 14, 27; 15, 19.
Australian "Primitives," 33, 21.
Authority in religion, 20, 14. *Cf.* Dogma, Reason.
Avatars, 5, 13, 14–15; *cf.* Transmigration, Reincarnation.
Avesta, 10; its origin, 7–13; *cf.* 14, 5; 9, 4.
Axe, The Double-, Worship of, 11, 2, 8.
Azazel, 17, 24.

Baal, 7, 8–9; Baal-zebub, *ib.*, 8.
Babylon, *cf.* Assyria.
Bacchus, *cf.* Dionysus.
Bacon, Francis, 12, 25; Roger, 24, 12.
Baga, 9, 12.
Baker, Mrs. Mary, *cf.* Mrs. Eddy.
Bantus, 33, 3, and *passim.*
Baptism, in St. John, 18, 22; St. Paul, 18, 29; Early Church, 19, 23; Augustine, 20, 18; Trent, 23, 26, 23, *cf.* 6; Luther, 28, 20, 21. The Mithraic, 16, 18, 23, 28; Eleusinian, 11, 22; Isiac, 14, 11; in the Ganges, 5, 25; the Taurobolium, 14, 15; *cf.* 10.
Barlaam and Josaphat, SS., 4, 29.
Baruch, Apocalypse of, 18, 24, 25.
Behmen, J., 29, 2.
Bellona, 14, 12.
Berengar, 21, 15.
Besant, Mrs., 35, 4–6, and *passim.*
Bible: Hebrew, 17; Greek Testament, 14; in Augustine, 20, 5, 15; Aquinas, 22, 10; Trent, 23, 12–18; Leo XIII., 24, 12, 13; *cf.* 29. And Luther, 23, 5; 28, 20, 22; in Anglican Articles, 27, 10–11; in Presbyterianism, 30, 19; Wesleyanism, 29, 20–23; and Gnostics, 35, 29–31. *Cf.* Gathas, Avesta, Vedas, Upanishads, Sutras, Book of the Dead, Koran.
Bigamy, 28, 23.
Birth, The Divine, of Krishna, 5, 25; Buddha, 4, 22; Dionysus, 11, 21; Mithra, 16, 16, 23, 29; of the Sun, *ib.*, and 14, 29. Of Christ, 18, 20. *Cf.* also Virgin Birth, Christmas (date of); *cf.* 38, 60.
Bishops, *cf.* Episcopacy.
Bismarck, 24, 14.
Blavatsky, Mme., 35, 2–4, 31, and *passim.*
Brahmā, 4, 4; 35, 13.
Brahmā, 4, 4; 5, 17; as member of the Hindu *trimurthi*, 5, 16, 17; 35, 13.
Brahminism, 4, 1; 5, 5; 35, 13, 21.
Buddha, Life of, 4, 7; apotheosis, 4, 22; 5, 9. Cult of, 4, 23; 9, 4; B. of Compassion, *cf.* Amida Buddha.
Buddhism, 4; in Mongolia, 2, 27; in Hinduism, 5, 7–8, 9; in China, 2, 14, 23, 26. Japanese, 34, 4, 13; special sects there, *ib.*, 20–30. In Theosophy, 35, 10, 19, 21, and *passim.* Its philosophy of Act, 4, 8; of Desire, *ib.*, 12, 14, 17. Of the

Ego, *ib.*, 13, 17, 19. Of Altruism, *ib.*, 24–27, 28. And Christianity, 4, 29; 1, 21. *Cf.* Renunciation, Nirvana, Amida Buddha.
Bull-sacrifice of Mithra, 16, 13, 30.
Būndahishn, 10, 6.
Bushmen, 33, 23.
Butler, Bp., 32, 24.
Butsudo, 34, 2.
Byzantine Emperors and King-worship, 15, 27; *cf.* 20, 6.

Cabeiri, 7, 11; Cabeiria, 11, 24.
Cady, Miss E., 37, 29.
Cæsar-worship, 15; *cf.* Church and State; King-worship.
Calendar, The Roman, 13, 1, 32; Chinese, 2, 29; Jewish, 31, 30–31.
Caligula, worshipped, 15, 18, 21.
Calvin, 28, 28–31, 18; 20, 25; 23, 5, 6, 7; 27, 16, 8; 30, 2, 4–6 (Presbyterianism); 29, 7 (and Methodism).
Canon, of Scripture. Gradual Formation of N.T., 18, 3; O.T. canon, 17, 3; modified by Reformers, 18, 3; 23, 5; Augustine and the Canon, 20, 5; Trent, 23, 12; 27, 11.
Canon Law, codification of, under Pius X., 24, 30.
Canonization (in China), 2, 29; *cf.* 15, 1; 5, 15; *cf.* Apotheosis.
Canossa, 21, 25.
Cara Cognatio, 13, 15.
Caste, in Hinduism, 5, 24; modified by Buddhism, 4, 9.
Celibacy, in Brahmin religion, 4, 9; Buddhist, *ib.*, 27; in Syria, 7, 23; Rome, 13, 9; 14, 14; probably not in Mithraism, 16, 27; Clerical, 21, 7, 20, 21; Gnosticism, 35, 29–31; *cf.* Marriage; in Anglican Articles, 27, 26; in Theosophy, 35, 18; in Eastern Churches, 25, 25.
Celtic religions, 3; *cf.* Druids.
Cerinthus, 21, 9.
Certainty, moral, 38, 65.
Chalcedon, Council of, 25, 9.
Chaldean Church, 25, 25.
Character in Sacraments, Augustine, 20, 19; Trent, 23, 26.
Charity, Buddhist, 4, 24–27 (*cf.* Amida, Altruism); and Caste, in Hinduism, 5, 24; Mazdean, 10, 24; Roman, under Antoninus, 12, 29; in Islam, 26, 13; Christian, 18, 8; *cf.* 38, 60, *sqq.*
Chastity in Mazdeism, 10, 24; in Isis worship, 14, 11; Buddhism, 4, 10; 20, 5; *cf.* Marriage, Family, Asceticism, Celibacy.
Children, in Christianity, 18, 6; 38, 62.
China, 2; and Christianity, 2, 22, 25; *cf.* 25, 4, 7; and Buddhism, *ib.*, 5, 14, 26; 34, 14; and Japan, 34, 5, 14–24; *cf.* Confucius, Laotzu, Taoism, Chu-hsi.
Christ, *cf.* Jesus Christ.
Christ, Messiah (*q.v.*), 18, 12.
Christendom, Formation, and division of, *cf.* (Gregory VII.) 21, *passim*, especially 3, 29.
Christian Science, 37; *cf.* Miracles, Mrs. Eddy, Pantheism, Dr. Quimby.
Christianity, 1, 17, 18–24, 25, 27–32, 38. And Chinese religion, 2, 24; Buddhism, 4, 29; *cf.* (Japanese Buddhism) 34, 31; *cf. ib.*, 2; Hinduism, 5, 10, 16, 23, 27–31; Syria, 7, 20, 23; Egypt, 8, 29–32; in Mazdeism (*cf.* Mazdeism and Judaism); Greece, 11, 32; Greek philosophers, 12, 5, 14, 30–32 (*cf.* Aristotle, Plato, Socrates, Augustine, Aquinas); Rome, early, 13, 28–31; Imperial, 14, 11, 15–18, 29–31; King-worship, 15, 20–32; Mithraism, 16, 23–32; Spiritualism and Christian Science, 36, 37, *passim*; Theosophy, 35, *passim*, especially 13, 17, 23–26; Esoteric, 35, 27, 28; and Neoplatonism, Gnosticism, 35, 28–31. *Cf.*, too, 18, 4, 7, 8, 32; 38, 30, 61, *passim.*

Christmas, *cf.* Dec. 25, Birth (divine).
Chu-hsi, 2, 18–22.
Church, in New Testament, 18, 11, 30, 27, 29; Early Church, 19; Theory of, in Augustine, 20, 17–18; and Empire or State, 15, 20–32; 21, 1–4, 28–31; 27, 28 (Anglicanism); 30, 4 (Presbyterianism); 28, 7–14 (Lutheranism); 24, 14–23 (modern Germany and France); Reformers' Theories of, 28, 21; 28, 30; 27, 18–20; 30, 2, 3. In the East, 25, *passim*, especially 23.
Cicero, 13, 25; 14, 27; 20, 4.
City of God, Augustine's, 20, 31; Stoic ideal, 14, 27; 38, 62.
Clement of Rome, St., 19, 11.
Cluny, 21, 9.
Communion, Holy, 18, 14, 23, 29 (in Synoptists, John and Paul); in Early Church, 19, 20–26, and *cf.* Eucharist; frequent, 23, 28; 24, 28; in both kinds, 23, 27; 27, 25. In Primitive religions, 33, 13, 20; in Mithraism, 16, 19, 29; of corpses, 38, 46; in Greek mysteries, 11, 23, 24; in early Rome, 13, 11, 12; in Sabazius-cult, 14, 13. *Cf.* Mass, Mysteries, Mysticism, Sacraments.
Comparative Method, 1, 12; 38, 1–18, and *passim*. *Cf.* Religion, Comparative.
Concordat, French, 24, 2, 21–23.
Concupiscence, 20, 24; 23, 21. *Cf.* Free Will; Sin (Original).
Confession, in Buddhism, 4, 29, 10; Mazdeism, 10, 25; Dea Syra worship, 14, 14; in Augustine, 20, 21; Trent, 23, 28; among "Primitives," 33, 14.
Confessions of St. Augustine, 20, 1, 9–13; 22, 17.
Confirmation, 23, 26.
Confucius, 2, 9; his system, *ib.*, 11–14; his apotheosis, 2, 21, 24; in Japan, 34, 17. Neoconfucianism, 2, 16, 17.
Congregationalism, 32, 2.
Congregations, Roman, 24, 18–21, 30; reorganization of, 31.
Copts, 25, 10–12.
Corn-spirit, 1, 5; *cf.* Tammuz, Osiris, Agrarian worships.
Consalvi, Cardinal, 24, 3.
Conscience, in Roman religion, 13, 22; 14, 8; in Christianity, 18, 6; 38, 61.
Constantine, 15, 25–27.
Cosmogony, Chinese, 2, 7; Babylonian, 6, 9; Syrian, 7, 31; Egyptian, 8, 4–15; Avestic, 10, 19, 22; 16, 10; Mithraic, 16, 10; Hesiodic, 11, 14; Theosophic 35, 12.
Counsel and Precept, 20, 21.
Counter-reformation, 28, 12.
Cranmer, 27, 3, and *passim*.
Crete, 11, 2.
Criticism, Biblical, 17, 4; 24, 13.
Crypt (Mithraic), 14, 19.
Cumont, Prof., 16, 4, and *passim*; 14, 15, 26, 29.
Cybele, in Greece, 11, 28; at Rome, 14, 9, 13, 14; and Mithra, 16, 22.
Cynics, 14, 23.

Daêvas, 10, 15, 18, 22.
Dagon, 7, 12.
Daniel, 18, 9, 12.
Darius, 9, 7, 12.
Davenport, Fr. (Sancta Clara), 27, 29.
Dea Syra, *cf.* Atar-gatis.
Dead, Cult of, 1, 8; in Early China, 2, 3, 8; of the Poor Dead, *ib.*, 2, 30; Assyria, 6, 26; Syria, 7, 26, 28; Egypt, 8, 17 (*cf.* Book of the Dead); Early Greece, 11, 6; Homer, 11, 12; Later Greece, 11, 21; in Vedism, 4, 1; Early Rome, 13, 13–15, 26; in Arabia, 26, 3; among "Primitives," 33, 6; in Celtic Religions, 3, 19. In Avesta, 10, 12, 27; Prayers for, in Christianity, 20, 13. *Cf.* Eschatology.

Death and Resurrection (yearly), *cf.* Resurrection.
December 25, Birthday of Sol Invictus, 14, 29; 16, 12, 20 (Mithra?).
Degeneration, in religion in China, 2, 7; Early Rome, 13, 20; Buddhism, 4, 9, 21; Japanese Buddhism, 34, 18, 25, 26, 28; Shinto, *ib.*, 8, 9; in Hinduism, 5, 3, 4, 20; Egypt, 8, 25; among Primitives, 33, 27; *cf.* 38, 16; 1, 25; *and cf. especially* Religions of Primitive Races, 33.
Deism, 32, 24.
Delphi, 11, 18; 38, 42; *cf.* Oracle, Prophecy.
Demeter, 11, 19, 21, 23. *Cf.* Ceres.
Demetrius, Apotheosis of, 15, 4.
Democracy and Religion in Early Rome, 13, 22; Christian, 24, 25.
Demonax, 14, 23.
Demonology: Mazdean, 10, 31; and Judaic, *ib.*; Platonic and Augustinian, 20, 9; Arabian, 26, 3 (*cf.* Jinn); Islam, 26, 21; Buddhist, 2, 27, 28. *Cf.* Angelology, Asmodeus, Drug, Spiritualism, Possession.
Denmark, Protestantism in, 28, 13.
Dervishes, 26, 29.
Descartes, 20, 14; 22, 4.
Devachan, 35, 15.
Devil, stoning the, 26, 15.
Didache, the, 19, 19.
Dill, Sir S., on Mithra, 16, 25.
Diocletian, 15, 20.
Dion Chrysostom, 14, 22.
Dionysos, development of his myth, 11, 4, 5, 19. At Eleusis, *ib.*, 23; 12, 3; at Rome, 14, 9; *cf.* Bacchus.
Divination: at Babylon, 6, 13; China, 2, 2, 6; Arabia, 26, 1; forbidden in Old Test., 17, 25; in Theosophy, 35, 22; *cf.* Omen, Oracle, Prophecy.
Divorce, 24, 24; 26, 18; 30, 23. *Cf.* Marriage.
Docetism, 35, 29.
Dogma, in Aquinas, 22, 9; *cf.* Revelation, Philosophy, Theology, Faith.
Donatists, 20, 15, 19.
Dove, sacred to Aphrodite, 11, 5; Ashtart, 7, 20.
Dowie, J. A., 37, 27.
Dramatic ritual and mysteries: of Koré, 11, 21, 23; of Dionysus, 11, 24; Orphic, *ib.* (and *cf.* Eleusis); of Adonis (*q.v.*), 14, 13; of Attis (*q.v.*), 14, 14; of Isis and Osiris, 14, 11; of Mithra, 16, 19.
Dreams, 14, 25; *cf.* Omens.
Drug, 10, 15, 18, 22.
Druids, 3, 17–24.
Dualism, of Chu-hsi, 2, 18; in Gathas, 10, 14; not in early Persian religion?, 9, 5; in Avestic religion, 10, 18; Platonic, 20, 10 n.; Manichean, 20, 5; *cf.* Gnostics, Neoplatonists, Asceticism.
Dunstan, St., 21, 9.
Dupuis, 1, 13.

Ea, 6, 4.
Earth deities, 11, 8, 15, 20.
Easter, 14, 15; and Pope Victor, 19, 12–15. *Cf.* Resurrection.
Eastern Churches, 25; the Great Schism, 18–20, 28.
Eddy, Mrs., 37, 1–9, and *passim.*
Edom, 7, 3, 11.
Education, 28, 2; and Christianity, 38, 62.
Egypt, its religion, 8; its Cosmogonies, 4–15; Ethical system, 21; Greek influence in, 25. *Cf.* Osiris, Isis, Dead (Cult, and Book of), Eschatology, etc.
El, Name of God: in Syria, 7, 7; =îlu in Babylon, 6, 6; 17, 10. El Elyon, El Shaddai, *ib.*, and 17, 13. *Cf.* Yahweh.
Elagabalus, 14, 28.
Eleusis, Mysteries of, 11, 21. *Cf.* Mysteries.
Elizabeth, Queen of England, 27, 6, 19, and *passim.*

Elohim, 17, 13.
Emmanuel (mental therapeutics), 37, 29.
Emotional religion in Syria, 7, 22; Orphism, 12, 3; Oriental cults at Rome, 14, 9–11, 14. In Christianity, 38, 64; *cf.* Asceticism, Mysticism.
Emperors, Roman, *cf.* Augustus; King-worship.
Empire, Roman, its relation to the Church, 20, 31, 32; 21, 2.
England, Church of, 27.
Enoch, Book of, 18, 9, 12.
Epictetus, 14, 27.
Epiphanes, a royal title, 15, 21, 31. *Cf.* 38, 52.
Episcopate: in Paul, 18, 29; John, *ib.*; Early Church, 19, 4–10; Anglican Church, 27, 22; Scotland, 30, 9; Wesleyanism, 29, 9, 10.
Epulum Iovis, 13, 20.
Equinox, in Mazdeism, 10, 26; Cybele-worship, 14, 14, 15.
Erasmus, 28, 2, 7.
Eros, doctrine of, in Plato, 12, 15, 18; in Aristotle, 12, 28.
Eschatology, Chinese, 2, 3; Celtic, 3, 11–17; Brahmin, 4, 1, 4; Buddhist, 4, 11, 17, 18, 19 (*cf.* Nirvana); Babylonian, 6, 26; Syrian, 7, 26; Egyptian, 8, 17–25; in the Gâthas, 10, 16; Avesta, *ib.*, 27; Homeric, 11, 12; in other Greek records, *ib.*, 6–7, 21; Early Rome, 13, 13–15, 26, 27; Imperial Rome, 14, 8, 13, 26; in Mithraism, 16, 15. Jewish, 18, 9; in Synoptists, *ib.*, 11, 12; in Apocalypse, *ib.*, 30–32. In Augustine, 20, 24; Islam, 26, 23. Among "Primitives," 33, 7; in Early Japanese religion; 34, 6; Japanese Buddhism, *ib.*, 16. *Cf.* Paradise, Purgatory, Hell, Judgement.
Esdras, IVth Book of, 18, 9, 24.
Esoteric Shinto, 34, 13; Christianity, 35, 24, 26.
Essenes, 18, 6, 8.
Established Kirk, 30, 16.
Ethic, Early Chinese, 2, 5; Confucian, 2, 12; Taoist, 2, 10; of Chu-hsi, 2, 20; Buddhist, 4, 8 (*cf.* Asceticism; Charity); Babylonian, 6, 20; Egyptian, 8, 21; in Early Persian Religion, 9, 21–23; in the Gâthas, 10, 16; Mazdean, 10, 24; Old Testament, 17, 20–22; Christian, New Testament, 18, 6–8, 13 (Synoptists); 22–23 (John); 24–27 (Paul); in Augustine, 20, 21; Aquinas, 22, 14–17. Among "Primitives," 33, 13; in Shinto, 34, 12; Japanese Buddhism, *ib.*, 16–18. Spiritualism, 37, 15; Theosophy, 35, 18. For the special interpretations of Christian Ethic by Protestant Sects, *cf.* Grace, Justification, Works, Sin.
Eucharist: in Synoptists, 18, 14; John, 22; Paul, 29; Early Church, 19, 16–20, 20–26; Augustine, 20, 20; Aquinas, 22, 31; Trent, 23, 27–29. For Reformers' doctrines, *cf.* 23, 8; 27, 24–26; Transubstantiation, Mass, Communion, etc. Mithraic "Eucharist," 14, 16; 16, 14, 19, 23, 24, 29.
Euhemerus, 11, 28; translated by Ennius, 13, 23.
Euripides, 11, 26.
Eusapia Palladio, 36, 4.
Eutychianism, 25, 9.
Evolution: in Augustine, 20, 5; in religion, 1, 13, 24; 38, 12, 56, 70.
Excavation, New light on antiquity from, 6, 1; 11, 2.
Exogamy, 33, 16.
Experience (religious), 38, 54, 72. *Cf.* Subjectivism.
Expulsion ceremonies, in Greece, 11, 7, 20; Latin, 13, 3, 6, 7.

Fairies, 3, 7.
Faith: in Islam, 26, 10; and reason, in Augustine, 20, 14; in Aquinas, 22, 9, 11; Vatican, *ib.*; Justify-

ing, 23, 16; 28, 9; *cf.* 32, 9, *and* Works; *cf.* Justification, Dogma, etc.
Faith-healing, 37, *passim*; *cf.* 14, 24, 25, *and* Miracles.
Family: in Confucianism, 2, 12; Hinduism, 5, 26; in Early Rome, 13, 9, 19, 29; among "Primitives," 33, 15; Leo XIII.'s teaching on, 24, 24.
Fasting, 11, 20, 23; in Islam, 26, 14; in Wesleyanism, 29, 4. *Cf.* Asceticism, Vegetarianism.
Fatalism, of Chu-hsi, 2, 19; in Homer, 11, 10; in Later Greece, 11, 29; Islam, 26, 27, 28; result of Astrology, 38, 27; *cf.* Predestination.
Fatherhood of God: in Christianity, 18, 4–6; in pagan or Jewish Theologies, *ib.*, 4; *cf.* 38, 61.
Fauns, 13, 5.
Fear as an element in Religion, 13, 19.
Feasts, evolution of Roman, 13, 5–15, 25; of Greek, 11, 20; Jewish, 31, 27–29.
Februa, 13, 12.
Feriæ Latinæ, 13, 11.
Fetish, explained, 1, 6–8; in China, 2, 6; in Greece, 11, 3; among "Primitives," 33, 8–10.
Filioque Clause, 30, 3; 27, 13.
Fire, worshipped by Brahmins, 4, 2; in Mazdeism, 10, 24, 25; in Roman religion, 13, 9.
Flamens, 13, 9.
Flood in Babylonian Epic, 6, 11.
Fortune, worshipped, in Greece, 11, 29; Rome, 13, 25.
France, Protestantism in, 28, 13; Huguenots, 30, 4; and Jews, 31, 16; and anti-Catholic legislation, 24, 16–23.
Fravashis, 10, 21; 9, 21.
Free Kirk, 30, 16.
Free Thought and Catholics, 38, 10; *cf.* Reason, Faith.
Free Will: in Augustine, 20, 23–25; in Aquinas, 22, 17; *cf.* 6. Denied by Reformers, 23, 5, 6, 22; Luther, 28, 17; Calvin, 28, 29, 30. In Wesleyanism, 29, 11; Anglicanism, 27, 14; *cf.* 30, 6.
"Fruitage," Christian Science, 37, 24–31.
Fukuzawa, 24, 3.

Gaius, *cf.* Caligula.
Gâthas, 9, 6; 10, 14.
Gemara, 31, 4.
Genesis and Babylonian myth, 6, 9–11; *cf.* Cosmogonies.
Geneva under Calvin, 28, 29.
Genius, 13, 10; of Augustus, 14, 5, 26; 15, 15.
Germany, before the Reformation, 28, 2. *Cf.* Lutheranism, Kulturkampf.
Ghosts, 1, 8; Expulsion of, Greece, 11, 7; Rome, 13, 13. Explained by Theosophy, 35, 18; *cf.* 36, *passim*, Spiritualism.
Gnosticism, 18, 18; 19, 17, 20; 35, 8, 29–31; *cf.* 19, 26.
God, 1, 3; *cf.* 33, 9, 24; doctrine of, in Augustine, 20, 26; in Aquinas, 22, 11, 21–25; in Vatican Council, 24, 11; in Old Testament, 17, 6–17, 25–27; in the New Testament, 18, 4; in Stoic Philosophy, 14, 20; in Islam, 26, 31.
Nature of, in Brahminism, 4, 2, 8; Indian Buddhism, 4, 9, 21; Japanese Buddhism, 34, 18; China, 2, 2; Homer, 11, 9; in Plato, 12, 12–15; Aristotle, *ib.*, 25–28; Earlier Greek religion, 11, 9; other Greek philosophy, *ib.*, 25, 28. In Early Roman cult, 13, 4; in the decadent Empire, 14, 29; 16, 21; Egypt, 8, 11; *cf.* Syncretism. Among "Primitive" folks, 33, 9, 19; in Shinto, 34, 6; Theosophy, 35, 11; Spiritualism, 36, 9; *cf.* Monotheism, Pantheism, Animism, etc.

Goddess: of special importance in cult; in China, **2**, 29, 30; Japan, **34**, 4 (*cf.* Amaterasu); among Semites, **7**, 12; **17**, 19 (Atargatis, Ashtart); in Babylonia, **6**, 4 (Ishtar); Egypt, **8**, 7 (Isis); *cf.* **14**, 10, 15.
Good, Absolute, in Plato, **12**, 12.
Gorin and Gokai, **34**, 18.
Gospels, composition, dates, and character of, **18**, 2, 3.
Grace: in John, **18**, 22–24; Paul, 24–27, 28. Augustine, **20**, 22–25; the Reformers, **23**, 6, 7; Trent, *ib.*, 19, 22–25; *cf.* **28**, 18–19; among Pagans, **38**, 48. *Cf.* Justification, Free Will.
Great Mother; Mother of the Gods; *cf.* Cybele.
Greece, Ancient, **11**; its influence on Egypt, **8**, 28; on Rome, **13**, 20–24; on Judaism, *cf.* Alexandrian Judaism. Influenced by East, **11**, 18, 28; degeneration, **11**, 24, 28.
Greek Churches, **25**, *passim*, and 18–23.
Greek Testament, **18**.
Gregory VII., **21**; XVI., **24**, 3.
Guilds, in Roman religion, **14**, 26; **13**, 27.

Hades, **11**, 19; **14**, 8.
Hadith, **26**, 9.
Haeckel, **2**, 20.
Hamite tribes, **33**, 20, 22.
Hammurabi, **6**, 4, 8; **7**, 5; **17**, 9.
Hanîfs, **26**, 5.
Haoma plant, **10**, 26; **16**, 16, 19.
Harnack, A., **17**, 15, 16; **20**, 1, 5, 21, 28, 29; **28**, 25.
Haruspices, **13**, 24.
Harvest festivals: China, **2**, 31; Greece, **11**, 20; Rome, **13**, 8.
Heaven, *cf.* Paradise, Eschatology.
Hegel, **20**, 32; **22**, 3; **28**, 24.
Hegesippus, **19**, 10.
Hegira, **26**, 6.
Heliopolis, **8**, 4.
Hell: Buddhist, 4, 28; Egyptian, **8**, 23; Mazdean, **10**, 27; Islam, **26**, 24; Bantu, **33**, 8. In Vergil, **14**, 8. *Cf.* Eschatology, Judgement.
Henotheism, 4, 3; **17**, 6; **6**, 3.
Henry IV. (Emperor), **21**, 23–27; VIII. of England, **27**, 4.
Hera, **11**, 16, 10.
Hercules, **13**, 17, 21.
Heresies, Berengarian, **21**, 15; Jacobite, **25**, 13, 14; Lollard, **27**, 28; Monophysite, **25**, 8; Arian, **32**, 13; Nestorian, **25**, 3. *Cf.* Lutheranism, Calvinism, Socinianism, Unitarianism, etc. *Cf.* **23**, 3; **19**, 6; Augustine's attitude towards, **20**, 16.
Hermes, **11**, 10, 19.
Hero-worship, **11**, 19; its origin? *ib.*, 7; and Saint-cultus, **15**, 30.
Hesiod, **11**, 13.
Hierarchy, the Christian, in N.T., **18**, 29 (*cf.* Pope, Bishops). Imitated by Julian the Apostate, **15**, 31; restored in England, **24**, 7; Mithraic, **16**, 18, 27, 28.
Hierography, Hierology, Hierosophy, **1**, 18; **30**, 6; *cf.* Comparative Religion, Method, the Comparative.
Hildebrand, *cf.* Gregory VII.
Hinduism, **5**; Early, 3, 4; Vedic period, 4; Buddhist period, 7; Puranic period, 8. Popular attitude towards, *ib.*, **22**; blots on, 23; and Christianity, 28–30; attractive features in, 26.
Historical research encouraged by Popes, **24**, 3, 13, 29; **38**, 9.
Hittites, **7**, 2.
Holiness, in Old Test., **17**, 25–27; and Wesley, **29**, 11–16.
Holy War, **26**, 7, 16–18.
Homer, **1**, 10; **11**, 8–13; **12**, 22.
Honey, in Mithraic ritual, **16**, 19.
Horace, **14**, 2, 7.
Horus, **8**, 10.
Hossô, **34**, 21.
Hottentots, **33**, 18.
House, sanctity of, at Rome, **13**, 9.
Humanism, **28**, 2; **32**, 15.

Hume, **22**, 26.
Huntingdon, Countess of, **29**, 7.
Huss, John, **23**, 4; **28**, 1.
Huxley, Prof., **1**, 2; **36**, 13.
Hypothesis, permissible in the study of religions, **38**, 6, 10, 23, *cf.* 27. Its dangers, *ib.*, and **1**, 19, 24; *introd.*, 6.
Hypsistos, **14**, 13.
Hvarenah, **10**, 20; **15**, 2; **16**, 6.

Iacchos, **11**, 23.
Iamblichus, **35**, 28.
Iblis, **26**, 21.
Iconoclasm, **15**, 26; **28**, 21.
Ignatius of Antioch, St., on Church unity, **19**, 9; on the Pope, *ib.*, 12; the Mass, 19; the Eucharist, 23.
Images, **1**, 6; in Hindu worship, **5**, 21; Syria, **7**, 17, 19; Roman, **13**, 16, 20; "Primitive" religions, **33**, 11; Early Japan, **34**, 6; Later Japan, **15**, 18; Celtic worship, **3**, 6; *cf.* Art.
Imitation of Christ, **12**, 32; **20**, 1.
Immaculate Conception: in Augustine? **20**, 30; St. Thomas, **22**, 13. Trent, **23**, 21; defined by Rome, **24**, 7; denied in East, **25**, 23; *cf.* **26**, 9; **27**, 16.
Immortality, **4**, 2–5; **3**, 16; **26**, 3; **8**, 17; **11**, 12; **7**, 27; **13**, 13, 26; **14**, 13, 19; **35**, 15, 19. But *cf.* Dead, Cult of; Survival of; Eschatology, Hell, Paradise, Purgatory.
Incarnation: in Christianity, **18**, 19–21, 26–31; in Augustine, **20**, 9, 28 (*cf.* Arians, Nestorians, Unitarians); in Aquinas, **20**, 12–14; in Plato? **20**, 9; Krishna not "incarnate" in the Christian sense, **5**, 15; nor Buddha, **4**, 22; *cf.* Avatars, Transmigration, King-worship. In Theosophy, **35**, 23–25; in Gnostic systems, **35**, 29–31; *cf.* Æon, Logos, and see **38**, 52.
India, Christianity in, **25**, 4, 7, 17; Theosophy in, **35**, 21. *Cf.* Buddhism, Brahminism, Hinduism.
Indigitamenta, **13**, 4.
Indra, **5**, 2; **4**, 3.
Indulgences, **23**, 31; **27**, 16; **28**, 5.
Infallibility, Papal, **24**, 10.
Initiation, Mithraic, **16**, 17; Eleusinian, **11**, 22–23; Isiac, **14**, 11. *Cf.* Mysteries, Baptism.
Inspiration, of Bible, **23**, 13; **24**, 13; Septuagint not inspired, **20**, 5. *Cf.* Revelation, Prophecy, Oracle.
Investiture, Lay, **21**, 6, 21, 22.
Ionian philosophy, **11**, 25.
Iran, *cf.* Persia.
Ireland, **3**; Church of, **27**, 13.
Irenæus, St., on Bishops, **19**, 4; on Mass, *ib.*, 16, 17; on Eucharist, 20.
Isê and Izumo, **34**, 7.
Ishtar, **6**, 4; hymn to, *ib.*, 18; *cf.* Atar-gatis, Ashtart, Tammuz.
Isis, **8**, 7, 15, 29–32; at Rome, **14**, 10, 16; and B.V. Mary, **14**, 17.
Islam, **26**; in China, **2**, 15; post-Mohammedan, **26**, 25. *Cf.* Mohammed, Koran.
Israel, *cf.* Judaism.
Italy, Unification of, **24**, 4–10.
Izanagi and Izanami, **34**, 4.

Jacobite Church, **25**, 13–14.
Jaïnas, **4**, 7; **5**, 8.
Janus, **13**, 9.
Japan, **34**; and Buddhism, 5–13; and Confucius, 17; sends Shinto to China, **2**, 15. *Cf.* Kami, Kojiki, Amaterasu, Mikado, Shinto.
Jatilas, **4**, 8.
Jehovah, *cf.* Yahweh.
Jeremiah, **17**, 18, 19.
Jesus Christ: prophesied, **17**, 28 (*cf.* Prophecy); in New Test., **18**. As Messiah and Son of Man, *ib.*, 12. His Divinity, *ib.*, 15 (Synoptists); **19** (Paul), **20** (John); in Early Church, **19**, 26–32; in Augustine, **20**, 29; in Aquinas, **22**, 12, 13. His salvific death, **18**, 13, 22, 26, 30; in

Augustine, **20**, 29; in Aquinas, **22**, 17–18. In Islam, **26**, 22; Arianism, **32**, 13. In modern Lutheranism, **28**, 26, 28; rationalism, *ib.*, 25; modern Presbyterianism, **30**, 19; in Talmudic tradition, **32**, 17; Socinianism, *ib.*, 19; modern Unitarianism, *ib.*, 25–27; on His unique position in Christianity, **38**, 38, 48. In Theosophy, **35**, 17, 24–25; in Gnostic sects, **35**, 29–31.
Jews, history of, **17**, 5; quarrel with Rome, **15**, 18, 21; *cf.* Judaism.
Jimmu Tennô, **34**, 4, 10. *Cf.* Yama; Yima.
Jinn, **26**, 21.
Jodo, **34**, 27.
Jodo-mon, **34**, 20.
Jogis, **5**, 13, 25. *Cf.* Yoga.
John, St.: personality, **18**, 18; Christology, *ib.*, 20, 21; Soteriology, 22–24; Ecclesiology, 29. Apocalypse, 30–32; date of writings, **2**; and Cerinthus, 19, 5.
Judaism, **17**. And Syrian Cults, **7**, 8, 9, 14, 16–19, 21–22, 24. And Babylonia, **6**, 8, 9–11, 14, 22, 27–31. And Mazdeism, **11**, 11, 30, 31; and Sabazius, **14**, 13; and Hypsistos-cult, *ib.*; Alexandrian, **18**, 5, 9, 14, 20; **35**, 28–31. And Islam, **26**, 3; Teleological character of, **38**, 42; gradual revelation in, *ib.*, 47, 70. Modern, **31**; festivals, *ib.*, 23, 27, 29; synagogue, **1**, 19; prayers in, 22–31; statistics, 11–13; secularization of, 7–9.
Judaizing Christians, **35**, 29.
Judgement (after death): in Egypt, **8**, 20; Mithraic (?) **16**, 16; Avestic, **10**, 16, 27; Islam, **26**, 23. *Cf.* Eschatology.
Julian the Apostate, **14**, 29; **16**, 22; **15**, 31.
Julius Cæsar, worshipped, **13**, 4; **15**, 9.
Juno, **13**, 11, 16.
Jupiter, **1**, 5; **13**, 15, 16.
Justification: in the Synoptists, **18**, 10, 13; in Paul, **18**, 24–27; in John, 21–24. Tridentine doctrine, **23**, 22–25; the Reformers', *ib.*, 6, 7. Lutheran, **28**, 18–20; Calvinist, 29, 30; Anglican, **27**, 14–15; Wesleyan, **29**, 14.
Justin, St., on the Eucharist, **19**, 18, 22–23.

Kabbalah, **35**, 8, 22.
Kabbirim, **7**, 10.
Kaguru, **34**, 12.
Kami, **34**, 9.
Kan-nu-shi, **34**, 12.
Kant, **1**, 2; **12**, 25; and Aquinas, **22**, 3, 26; **28**, 14.
Karma, **5**, 7, 29; **35**, 16.
Kegon, **34**, 22.
Kingdom (of God): in Avesta, **10**, 11, 31; in Vedas, 10, 12, 17; in Stoic philosophy, **14**, 27; **38**, 62; in Old Test., **17**, 17–20; **18**, 9; in Christianity, **18**, 9–12; **38**, 62.
Kings, Religion of the Great, **9**; *cf.* Ahura Mazdah.
Kings, in the history of religion: in China, **2**, 2, 7 (monopolize higher worship); **15**, 1; in Japan, **34**, 10 (*cf.* Mikado, Jimmu Tennô); in Shinto, **2**, 15; originally religious head of Rome, **13**, 10. King-worship, **15**. Divine origin of king: in China, **2**, 16; Egypt, **8**, 10; **15**, 2; in East, 1–8; at Rome, 9–20; and *cf.* **14**, 3; and Christianity, **15**, 21–32; apotheosis ceremony, **15**, 16; in Greece, **11**, 28, 29; connection with solar worship, **15**, 18. In Byzantine period, **15**, 26. God worshipped as *King*, **6**, 3; **7**, 8–10.
Kirk, *cf.* Presbyterianism, **30**.
Knossos, **11**, 2.
Knox, John, **30**, 1, 2, 5–8, 11, 22.
Kojiki, **34**, 4.
Koran, **26**, 9, 23, 27–28.
Koré, **11**, 19, 21.
Korea, **34**, 14; **2**, 27.

Krishna, 5, 12, 14; assimilated to Christ, 27; 35, 24.
Kronos, 11, 10; *cf.* 16, 9.
Kulturkampf, 24, 11, 14–16; 28, 16.
Kwannon, 34, 18.

Lao-tzu, 2, 9, 10.
Lares, 13, 10.
Latins, Origin of, 13, 2.
Laud, Abp., 27, 7.
Leather (in ritual purification), 13, 12, 13.
Lectisternium, 13, 20.
Lemuria, 13, 13; 11, 7.
Leo XII., 24, 3; X., 28, 1, 6; XIII., 24, 11–27; and Aquinas, 22, 20.
Libertines, 30, 4, 5.
Licentious worship, 5, 13, 18, 19; 7, 23; 14, 12, 28; 35, 29, 30; 38, 64; *cf.* Ashtart, Tantrism, Gnosticism.
Lingard, 24, 3.
Litanies, on April 25, 13, 8; Rogation, *ib.*
Locke, J., 32, 22; and Aquinas, 20, 26.
Logia, 18, 2.
Logos, in Philo and St. John, 18, 20; 35, 28; in Augustine, 20, 9; in Aquinas, 20, 13. In Islam, 26, 20; Orphic? 12, 20; and Vohumanah, 10, 12, 15. In Theosophy, 35, 13; The Christian Logos, 38, 47.
Lollardy, 27, 28.
Louis XIV., 15, 29.
Lupercalia, 13, 12.
Luther, 28; life of, 3–10; and Huss, 23, 4.
Lutheranism, 28; modern, *ib.*, 23; contemporary, 26–28; in France, *ib.*, 13.

Mâ, 14, 12.
Magi, 9, 8; 16, 22.
Magic, defined, 1, 9–10; "Sympathetic," 13, 2, 5, 7, 15; 38, 45; in China, 2, 2; Later Vedas, 5, 4; Babylon, 6, 12, 13; Early Roman? 13, 2; Semitic, but not Hebrew, 17, 7; amongst "Primitives," 33, 5, 10, 14; and Theosophy, 35, 8; and Gnostics, 35, 31; *cf.* 38, 25, 27.
Magnetism, 36, 8, 9.
Mahatmas, 35, 9, 10.
Mai, Cardinal, 24, 3.
Maimonides, 31, 4.
Malabar Christian, 25, 17–18.
Manês, 13, 14; *cf.* Dead, Cult of; Ghosts, Spirits.
Mani, founder of Manicheism, 20, 5.
Manicheism, 10, 30; 20, 5, 6, 14, 23; 2, 15.
Marduk, 6, 4, 5, 7; rôle in Creation, 6, 10.
Maronites, 25, 27.
Marriage, Christian, 18, 29; in Augustine, 20, 21; Trent, 23, 30. Among "Primitives," 23, 15, 18; in Brahminism, 4, 1; condemned by Buddhism, 4, 9; Manicheism, 20, 5; Theosophy, 35, 18. Incestuous, in Persia, 10, 25; in Egypt, 15, 6. *Cf.* Woman, Celibacy.
Mars, 13, 6, 16.
Martineau, Dr., 32, 5, 11–12, 25, 26.
Mary, B.V., in Augustine, 20, 30; in Aquinas, 22, 13; Trent, 23, 21, 24; in Islam, 26, 9; *cf.* 24, 7, and Virgin Birth, Immaculate Conception, etc.
Mass, 17, 30 (prophesied), 23; sacrifice of, 18, 14, 23 (New Test.); 19, 16–20 (Early Church); 20, 13 (Augustine); 23, 29 (Trent); 27, 25 (Anglican Articles); *cf.* Sacrifice.
Matriarchy, 3, 25.
Maximus of Tyre, 14, 22.
Maya, mother of the Buddha, 4, 22.
Maya, "illusion," 35, 16, 20; 5, 7.
Mazdah, *cf.* Ahura Mazdah.
Mazdeism, 9, 10. In China, 2, 15; Arabia, 26, 4; connection with Veda, 9, 6; 10, 17; and Judaism, 10, 30; modern, *ib.*, 29.

Mecca, **26**, 2, 7; pilgrimage to, **26**, 15.
Medina, **26**, 7.
Mediums, **37**, 3; **35**, 20.
Melanchthon, **22**, 22; **28**, 7, 9; **27**, 4, 16.
Melanesians, **33**, 21.
Melkites, **25**, 10, 31.
Memphis, **8**, 8.
Mendelssohn, Moses, **31**, 6.
Mesha, king of Moab, **7**, 25.
Messiah in Old Test., **17**, 28, 31; expectation of, at Christian era, **18**, 6, 12; the Christian Messiah, *ib.*, 15. In Islam, **26**, 30; and in modern Judaism, **31**, 7; *cf. ib.*, 3; **38**, 42; *and* Saoshyant, Soter.
Metempsychosis, **20**, 9; **33**, 7; *cf.* Transmigration.
Method, the Comparative, **38**, *passim*. Rules to observe in it, *ib.*, 14; faults to avoid, *ib.*, 56. *Cf.* Hypothesis; Comparative Religion.
Methodists, *cf.* Wesleyanism, **29**.
Mikado, **15**, 1; **34**, 4, 6, 13, 14.
Minerva, **13**, 17.
Miracles, of Christ, **18**, 10; *cf.* **37**, 32; **38**, 41; of Apollonius of Tyana, **14**, 21; **35**, 23; and of Appuleius, **38**, 39, 41; of Asklepios, *ib.*, and **14**, 24; at Lourdes, **37**, 32; of Christian Science, **37**, 24–31; 4; **35**, 5, 22; of Theosophy, **35**, 3, **22**, 23, 31, 32. *Cf.* **32**, 8.
Mishnah, **31**, 3.
Mithra, **16**. In early Persian religion, **9**, 8, 15; **16**, 5. In Avesta, **10**, 21, 27, 30. In Veda, **10**, 21; **16**, 5; in Babylonia, **16**, 6; Asia Minor, *ib.*; at Rome, **16**, 8; **15**, 18. His birth, **16**, 12; sacrifice of bull, *ib.*, 13. Doctrine of his cult, **15**, **16**; initiation, **17**; worship, 17–20; its organization, 20; collapse, 22; compared with Christianity, 23 *sqq.*
Mitra, **16**, 5; **10**, 21.
Mixed Chalice, **19**, 7, 22, 23. In Mithraism? **16**, 19.
Miya, **34**, 11.
Moabite Stone, **7**, 3, 25.
Modernism, **24**, 11; in Unitarianism, **32**, 26–28, 31. In Lutheranism, **28**, 23–28.
Mohammed: his life, **26**, 5; *cf.* Islam.
Moloch (Melek, Molech), **7**, 8–10.
Monasticism: Buddhist, **4**, 9–10; **5**, 8; in Japan, **34**, 15; Isiac, **14**, 11; Sufist, **26**, 29. *Cf.* Celibacy, Asceticism.
Monophysites, **25**, 8–10.
Monotheism, **1**, 4; and Henotheism (*q.v.*), **4**, 3; in China, **2**, 4; Babylonia? **6**, 6–8; Egypt? **8**, 3, 12, 13, 15. In Greece, **11**, 30; *cf.* 12, 22; Persian? **9**, 11; Jewish, **17**, 6–12; in Early Church, **15**, 31; Islam, **16**, 19, 20; Sabara, *ib.*, 3. Not evolved from polytheism, **38**, 24.
Monotheletism, **25**, 27.
Moses, **17**, 6, 17.
Mosques, **26**, 12.
Motazelites, **16**, 26.
Müller, Prof. Max, **1**, 15; **11**, 12.
Mummification, **8**, 18.
Musonius, **14**, 22.
Mutilation, **7**, 23; **17**, 14.
Myazda, **10**, 26; **30**, 5, 7.
Mysteries, Eleusinian, **20**, 21; Orphic, **20**, 24; of Sabazios, *ib.*, 11, 28; *cf.* **35**, 27.
Mysticism, **22**, 20; **26**, 29; **35**, 8, 28.

Names, Divine, in Babylonia, **6**, 16; Syria, **7**, 7–10; Israel, **17**, 12–17.
Napoleon, and the Jews, **31**, 15; and the Popes, **24**, 1, 2.
Nationalism and religion, **30**, 29.
Natural religion, **1**, 11.
Naturalism, **20**, 24.
Nature-worship, explained, **1**, 4, 5; in Syria, **7**, 7; China, **2**, 3, 28, 31. Hindus, **5**, 2; Sumerian, **6**, 2; Egypt, **8**, 2; Greece, **11**, 4; Japan, **34**, 10; Celts, **3**, 7;

Persia, 9, 17; Rome, 13, 3; "Primitives" (?), 33, 5, 17. *Cf.* 38, 26, 27.
Nebo, 6, 5.
Necromancy, 36, 2, 10, 20.
Negrillos, Negritos, *cf.* Pygmies, 33.
Neoplatonism, 11, 30; 14, 29; 26, 29; 35, 28, etc.
Nestorians, 25, 3; their heresy, *ib.*, 5; modern, 8; missions, 7; in China, 2, 15.
New Life (in the Gospels), 18, 6–9.
New Testament, 18.
New Year, 2, 29; 10, 26; 1, 5; 13, 6, 9.
Newman, Cardinal, 19, 1–4; 20, 17; 22, 3, 8, 27; 27, 29; 30, 27.
Nichiren, 34, 29.
Nihongi, 34, 4.
Nirvana, in Indian Buddhism, 4, 11–12, 14–17; in Japanese Buddhism, 34, 16 (*cf.* 2, 10); in Theosophy, 35, 19.
Nous, in Anaxagoras, 12, 21; in Gnostic systems, 35, 28.
Numina, 13, 4.

Oak, sacred to Zeus, 11, 4; to Jupiter, 13, 3, 16.
Oath, in Rome, 13, 16, 28; Mithraism, 16, 6; Anglican Articles, 27, 28.
Obsession, 36, 22.
Occultism, 35, 22.
Ohoharahi, 34, 12.
Olcott, Col., 35, 2, and *passim*.
Olympus; Deities of, 11, 10; 12, 2.
Omanos, 10, 12.
Omens, at Rome, 13, 24; in Hinduism, 5, 20, 25.
Omophagia, 11, 24.
Oracle, in Babylonia, 6, 13; and Demetrius, 15, 5; at Delphi, 11, 18; the Sibylline books, 18, 9; and Christian prophecy, 38, 30; in Plato, 11, 27.
Orders, Holy: in Augustine, 20, 18; Council of Trent, 23, 30; in Anglican Articles, 27, 22, 28; Presbyterian, 30, 21; *cf.* 25, 13; Wesleyan, 29, 10, 30.
Original Sin (*cf.* Grace, Predestination, Works). In the New Test., 18, 24; in Augustine, 20, 23–25; in Council of Trent, 23, 18–22; according to Luther, 28, 17; 23, 6; to Calvin, 28, 18, 29, 30; 23, 6; 28, 9; to Anglican Articles, 27, 13; not in Korân, 26, 10.
Ormuzd, *cf.* Ahura Mazda.
Orphic Mysteries, 11, 24; 12, 3; in Plato's *Phædo*? *ib.*, 20; *cf.* 14, 8; 35, 28.
Orthodox Church, 25, 18.
Osiris, 8, 7, 15, 29–32. At Rome, 14, 10; 35, 28.
Osteopathy, 37, 28.

Pahlavi language and literature, 10, 5.
Palatine graffito, 19, 31.
Pan, 11, 19.
Pantheism, defined, 1, 3; in China, 2, 6; of Lao-tzu, 2, 9; in Brahminism, 4, 6; 5, 11; in Buddhism? 4, 11; in Hinduism, 5, 5, 11; in Greece, 11, 26; in decadent Paganism, 16, 22; 14, 29; and Wickliffe, 23, 3; and St. Thomas, 22, 12; in modern Protestantism, 28, 23, 25; in Theosophy, 35, 12; in Christian Science, 37, 12, 17; in Sufism, 26, 29; *cf.* Syncretism.
Papacy, in the 8th century, 21, 5; the modern (1800–), 24; election to, 21, 16 (*cf.* Veto); imperial nomination, 21, 15; in Early Church, 19, 10–16; in Augustine, 20, 18; temporal position of, 21, 31, 38; in England, 27, 28, 30; ritual survivals from King-worship, 15, 29. *Cf.* Pope, St. Peter.
Paradise: Buddhist, 4, 22 (*cf.* Nirvana); Egyptian, 8, 23; Gâthic, 10, 16, 17; Avestic, *ib.*, 27, 28; Homeric, 11, 13; in Islam, 26, 24; in Theosophy, 35, 15, 19, 20. *Cf.* Eschatology, Hell.
Parentalia, 13, 14.
Parilia, 13, 7.

St. Mary's Library, Notre Dame, Ind.

Parsis, 10, 29.
Pater Patrum, 16, 18.
Paul, St., dates of Epistles, 18, 2; character of, *ib.*, 17, 18; his Christology, *ib.*, 19, 20; soteriology, 24–27; ecclesiology, 27–29; *cf.* Grace.
Pelagianism, 20, 22–25; compared with Protestant Reformation, 23, 9; *cf.* Grace, Predestination, Free Will, Works, etc.
Penance, Sacrament of: in Augustine, 20, 21; Trent, 23, 28; rejected by Lutheranism, 28, 20. Practice of, in Persian religion, 10, 25; in Orphic and similar cults, 14, 8, 14, etc. *Cf.* Asceticism.
Penates, 13, 10.
Pentalogue, Buddhist, 4, 8; 34, 18.
Peregrinus, the Cynic, 14, 23.
Pericles, 12, 4.
Persecution, of Christians, 10, 29; 15, 24, 22; 19, 30; of Jews, 31, 18, 20. *Cf.* France, Prussia.
Persephone, 11, 19.
Persia, 9, 10; and Islam, 26, 32; and Christianity, 25, 4. *Cf.* Ahura Mazda, Mithra, Zoroaster, Avesta, etc.
Peter, St., 18, 11; 19, 7, 27. *Cf.* Pope, Papacy.
Pharisees, 18, 6, 17.
Pharmakos, 11, 20; 13, 6, 7; *cf.* Scape-goat, Expulsion ceremonies, Atonement.
Philistines, 7, 2.
Philo, 10, 12; 18, 20; 35, 8, 28.
Philosophy: Greek, 11, 25; Athenian, 12. At Rome, 14, 18; St. Thomas, 22, 10. Effect upon religion, 8, 28, 29; 2, 9-14; 5, 5; 4, 3, 16; etc. And Leo XIII., 24, 12; pagan philosophy prepares a way for Christianity, 38, 47; *cf.* Socrates, Aristotle, Aquinas, Stoicism.
Phœnicia, 7, 2, 24.
Photius, 25, 19.
Phtah, 8, 8.
Pilgrimage to Mecca, 26, 15.
Pillar Worship: Syrian, 7, 15 (in Bible, *ib.*, 16, 17); *cf.* 11, 3; in Arabia, 26, 1.
Pillars of Islam, 26, 10.
Pindar, 11, 26.
Pius VI., 24, 1; VII., 24, 2; VIII., 24, 3; IX., 24, 4–11; and the Kulturkampf, 15; and the Syllabus, 26; X., 24, 11, 27–32.
Planchette, 37, 7.
Plato, 12, 9–23; influence on Aristotle, *ib.*, 24; 18, 4, 8; on Judaism, 18, 20, 32; 35, 28; in Augustine, 20, 8–10; and Aquinas, 22, 16, 17; on need of revelation, 12, 19, 20; 22, 9, 10; *cf.* the Platonic "ideas," 12, 11.
Plautus, 13, 23.
Pleroma, 18, 27; 35, 30.
Pliny, 19, 30.
Plotinus, 35, 28.
Plutarch, 8, 29, 30; 11, 30; 13, 2.
Political theory, 22, 20; 18, 8; 24, 23–27.
Politics and religion: in China, 2, 11–14 (Confucius); in Rome, 13, 22, 24, 25; 14, 3; 15, *passim*, especially 32; in Christianity, 18, 8, 9; 21, *pass.*, especially 28–31; 24, 14–16 (Prussia), 16–23 (France); in modern Judaism, 31, 15–17; *cf.* 28, 2. *Cf.* Church and State.
Polycarp, St., 19, 5, 6.
Polynesian religion, 33, 21.
Polytheism: defined, 1, 4; in China, 2, 6; Celtic, 3, 4; Buddhist, 2, 26; Hindu, 5, 22; Babylonia and Assyria, 6, 6–8; Egyptian, 8, 12; development in Greece, 11, 4–7; in Rome, 13, 4, 15; does not develop into monotheism, 38, 24, etc. *Cf.* Monotheism, Pantheism.
Pontifex Maximus, 13, 10; 14, 3; 15, 11; 16, 28.
Pope, *cf.* Papacy, Peter, Infallibility, etc.
Porphyry, 35, 28.

Poseidon, 11, 10, 19.
Possession, 36, 22.
Prayer, in Babylonian and Assyrian religion, 6, 17–20; in Egypt, 8, 13, 14, 31; in Persian religion, 9, 19; in Roman, 13, 19; 14, 27; in Islam, 26, 11; among Primitive peoples, 33, 29; in Buddhism, 4, 23, 28; in Japanese Buddhism, 34, 19, 27, 30, 31. Theosophist, 35, 16; *cf.* 1, 11; 38, 53.
Predestination, in New Test., 18, 27; in Augustine, 20, 23–25; Islam, 26, 20–27. Aquinas, 22, 18; Protestant Reformers, 23, 7; 28, 18, 29, 30; 30, 5. Anglican Articles, 27, 17; Wesley, 29, 10. *Cf.* Grace, Free Will, etc.
Prehistoric man, 33, 25.
Presbyterianism, 30; development, 30, 8, 9; divisions, 15–20; government, 20–24; in relation to Calvin, 6; to rationalism, 19. *Cf.* 32, 21.
Priests: none in early Celtic religion? 3, 6; rise of, at Rome, 13, 9; 14, 9; of the Emperor, 14, 6 (excluded from Christian priesthood, 15, 26); of Mithra, 16, 18, 20; Persian, 10, 26; Christian, 18, 29; and *cf.* Orders rejected by Reformers, 23, 8.
"Primitives," 33; 38, 22; 1, 18. *Cf.* Regeneration.
Proof, theological, 22, 11; historical, *ib.*, 27–30; moral, 38, 65.
Property, 24, 24; *cf.* 27, 28.
Prophecy, Messianic, 17, 9, 31; *cf.* 38, 41; of the Mass, 17, 30; held to have been "imitated" by devils, 38, 42. *Cf.* Oracle.
Protagoras, 11, 25.
Protestantism, the name, 28, 9; 30, 3; *cf.* 23, 2. Its divisions, 28, 14; 27, 2. Its missions, 28, 15; 25, 8.
Prussia, Kulturkampf in, 24, 14–16; Protestantism in, 28, 13.
Psychology: in Aquinas, 22, 4–6, 13; in China, 2, 8, 11, 19; Buddhist, 4, 13; of Theosophy, 35, 15, 16.
Ptolemies, Apotheosis of the, 15, 6.
Puranas, 5, 19.
Purgatory, in Augustine, 20, 21; rejected by Reformers, 23, 8; 28, 20 (*cf.* 29, 16); taught at Trent, 23, 30; in Anglican Articles, 27, 20–21. Buddhist (*cf.* Reincarnation); Egyptian, 8, 23–25; Avestic, 10, 27, 28; Orphic and Pythagorean, 14, 8, 9; Mithraic (?), 16, 16.
Pygmies, 33, especially 22 *sqq.*
Pyramids, 8, 18.
Pythagoras, 14, 21; 35, 28.

Qadosh, 17, 25.
Quimby, Dr., 37, 2, 6–9.
Quirinus, 13, 17.

Ra, 8, 5; as Creator, 8, 7.
Rabbis, 31, 15.
Ramadan, 26, 14.
Rationalism, 1, 24; in Greece, 11, 25; 12, 4. Plato's, 12, 14, 21–23. In Rome, 13, 22–26; in China, 2, 18–21 (*cf.* Chu-hsi, Confucius); and scholasticism, 22, 25; 24, 11; in Unitarianism, 32, 4–12, 22–25; in Reformed Churches, 28, 14, 15, 23, 27–28; 30, 19, 20. *Cf.* Reason, Revelation.
Real presence, in Eucharist. In Early Church doctrine, 19, 20–26; imitated by Gnostics, 19, 26; Augustine, 20, 20; in doctrines, Reformed, 23, 8; 28, 31; 27, 24, 25; *cf.* Transubstantiation, Communion, Mass, Eucharist.
Reason and Faith, in Vatican Council, 22, 9; 24, 10, 11. *Cf.* Revelation.
Reformation, 27, 28, 30, *passim*; 23, 2, *sqq.*

Reforms of Pius X., 24, 28–32.
Reinach, S., on religion, 1, 2; 38, 23; on Totemism, 1, 7; 38, 11.
Reincarnation, Brahmin, 4, 5; Buddhist, 4, 7, 11, 13; Theosophist, 35, 15; *cf.* Avatar, Transmigration.
Religion, etymology and definition, 1, 1, 2; *cf.* 38, 18, 19, etc. Universal, 1, 10; 38, 21; *cf.* 33, *passim*. Natural and revealed, 1, 11–12; 38, 66–69. Attitude in which to study, 38, 20, 60. Gradual growth in complexity, 33, 27. *Cf.* God, Worship, Ethic, Method (comparative), Prayer.
Religions, 1; 38. Development of the science of the History of Religions, 1, 1–18. Catholic work upon, 1, 14. Congresses, 1, 17.
Remonstrant Church, 29, 12.
Renaissance, 15, 30; 28, 1–3. *Cf.* Humanism.
Renunciation, Christian, 18, 7; Buddhist, 4, 12; Stoic, 14, 8. *Cf.* Asceticism, Amida, Buddha.
Repentance, Sense of. In Babylonia, 6, 22; in Egypt, 8, 21–23. *Cf.* Penance.
Rephaim, 7, 31.
Respondents, 8, 26.
Resurrection, of Christ, Aquinas' proof for, 22, 28–30. General resurrection; in Persian religion, 10, 24, 28; in Greek, 11, 24; in Mithraic, 16, 16. Of Pagan gods, 1, 5; Tammuz, 6, 5; 7, 13; Adonis, 7, 23; 14, 12; Osiris, 8, 17, 14, 10; Koré, 11, 21; Attis, 14, 14, 15; *not* Mithra, 16, 29; *cf.* 38, 52, 53.
Reuchlin, J., 28, 3.
Revelation, need of, felt by Plato, 12, 19; 38, 29; *cf.* 22, 9, 10. Not inspiration, 22, 10; in Islam, 26, 21; original revelation given to Adam, 38, 44; in Vatican doctrine, *ib.*, 38, 34, and *passim*.
Righteousness in Jewish religion, 17, 20.
Rig Veda, 5, 2.
Ritschl, 28, 25.
Ritual, pagan and Christian, 38, 25, 53, 58; 14, 15–17.
Robigalia, 13, 5, 8, 15.
Rogation days, 13, 5, 8.
Rome, Religion of Ancient, 13; of Imperial, 14. The Goddess Rome, 14, 5; 15, 13. The Church of, 19, 6, 7, 10; 20, 18, 19. *Cf.* Pope, Papacy, Reformation, St. Peter.
Rosary, 34, 28, 31.
Ryobu-Shinto, 34, 7.

Sabæan religion, 20, 3.
Sabaoth, 14, 13.
Sabazius, 14, 13; and Judaism, *ib.*
Sacraments: Christian, *cf.* Baptism, Eucharist, etc. Catholic theory, Trent, 23, 25–30; Augustine's, 20, 19; Lutheran, 28, 20; Anglican, 27, 23. Meal on martyrs' tombs, 20, 13; Messianic banquet, 28, 14; sacramental meal in Greece, 11, 6; Rome, 13, 11; Mithraic, 16, 13, 14, 19; Sabazian, 14, 13; Omophagia, 11, 24; Mithraic "sacraments," 16, 17, 28; *cf.* 38, 53, and Communion
Sacrifice: China, 2, 1; Celtic, 3, 5; Vedic, 4, 3; Hindu, 5, 13; Babylonian, 6, 23; Avesta, 10, 26 (*cf.* Haoma); Rome, 13, 5–8, 11–13, 14, 18; 14, 28; Greece, 11, 27, 6, 7; Old Testament, 17, 22–25; the Christian, 18, 14 (*cf.* Atonement, Mass); among "Primitives," 33, 12. Human; in Arabia, 26, 2; China, 2, 8; Hindu, 5, 3; Greece, 11, 27; Syria, 7, 9, 22, 24; *cf.* 14, 28; not among Jews, 31, 20.
Sadducees, 18, 6.

Saints, Legends of, **15**, 30 (Hero-worship, *ib.*); communion of, **13**, 8, 30; invocation of, **27**, 21; Hindu, **5**, 25. *Cf.* Dervishes, Jogi.
Samurai, **34**, 17.
Sân, **33**, 24.
Saoshyant, **10**, 24.
Saraswati, **5**, 12; **35**, 21.
Saturn, **13**, 8.
Saturnalia, **13**, 8, 9.
Saturninus, **35**, 30.
Satyrs, **11**, 19.
Savages, **33**; *cf.* "Primitive Races," Regeneration.
Saviours-Gods, **15**, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 31. *Cf.* **22**, 17; Atonement, Incarnation.
Scape-goat, **13**, 7; **17**, 24; *cf.* Pharmakos, Atonement, Expulsion-ceremonies.
Scepticism, Universal: in Augustine, **20**, 7; *cf.* Agnosticism.
Schleiermacher, **28**, 24.
Scholasticism, **18**, 17; Augustine and, **20**, 32; Aquinas, **22**, 25, and *passim*. Neo-Scholasticism, **24**, 12. *Cf.* Motazelites, **26**, 26; *cf.* **28**, 2, 3; and Aristotle, Philosophy, Rationalism.
Science, Christian, *cf.* Christian Science, **37**.
Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures, **37**, 2, 3–4, *passim*.
Scotland, religion in, **30**. *Cf.* Presbyterianism, John Knox.
Scribes, **18**, 6.
Scriptures, *cf.* Bible.
Seleucids and King-worship, **15**, 8.
Semi-Pelagianism, **20**, 22.
Semites, *cf.* Syria, Babylonia, and Assyria.
Senate, Apotheosis of, **15**, 9.
Seneca, **14**, 19, 31; **18**, 4.
Serapis, **11**, 28.
Serpent-worship, **11**, 5; **35**, 31.
Servetus, Michael, **30**, 5.
Set, evil principle in Egypt, **8**, 7.
Severi, The, **14**, 28; **15**, 18.
Shamanism, **2**, 27.
Shamash, **6**, 5.
Shepherds at Mithra's birth? **16**, 12.
Shin, **34**, 24.
Shingon, **34**, 24.
Shinto, in Japan, **34**, 2–13, and *passim*; in China, **2**, 15.
Shodomon, **34**, 20.
Shurpu tablets, **6**, 4.
Simon Magus, **35**, 29.
Simony, **20**, 21.
Sin (Babylonian moon-god), **6**, 5.
Sin, Idea of: in Babylonia, **6**, 20; Hinduism, **5**, 29; Rome, **13**, 31; **14**, 9. In Synoptists, **18**, 7; St. John, *ib.*, 22; St. Paul, *ib.*, 24. Original, **18**, 22, 24, in Old and New Testaments; Augustine, **20**, 22–25; *cf.* Concupiscence, Pelagianism; Aquinas, **22**, 17–19; Trent, **23**, 18–22; *cf. ib.*; 5–7. Anglican Articles, **27**, 13, Lutheranism, **28**, 17; Calvinism, *ib.*, 29; Wesleyanism, **29**, 11, 12; Presbyterianism, **30**, 6; Unitarianism, **32**, 10. *Cf.* Repentance, Asceticism, Atonement, Ethic, Grace, Justification.
Siva, **5**, 3, 12.
Slavery, and Christianity, **18**, 9.
Social Encyclicals of Leo XIII., **24**, 23–27.
Social Problem, The, **22**, 21; **24**, 31; **38**, 62, 63; *cf.* Family, Altruism.
Socinians, **32**, 18–20.
Socrates, **11**, 27; **12**, 6–8, 21.
Sol Invictus, **14**, 28, 29; *cf.* **16**, 15.
Solar Cult, Myth, and Monotheism, **1**, 5, 21, **13**; in Avesta, **10**, 21; Egypt, **8**, 2, 4; at Rome, **14**, 28, and Imperial, *ib.*, **15**, 18; Japanese, **34**, 10 (*cf.* Amaterasu); in Babylonia, **6**, 5; in Mithraism, **16**, 22. *Cf.* Syncretism.
"Son of God," title in Emperor-worship, **14**, 31; in New Testament, **18**, 15. *Cf.* Incarnation.
"Son of Man," in New Testament, **18**, 12.
Sophists, **12**, 5.

Soter, *cf.* Saviour-gods.
Soteriology, *cf.* Atonement.
Soul, *cf.* Psychology, Immortality.
Spirit: in St. John, **18**, **21**; in New Testament, *ib.*, **22**, 28, 30. *Cf.* **35**, 29–31 (Gnostic doctrines).
Spirits, Belief in, **33**, 4; **35**, 20; *cf.* Animism, Spiritualism, Ghosts.
Spiritualism, **36**; and Christianity, **36**, 9; and Theosophy, **35**, 21, 22; *cf.* Mediums, Miracles, Necromancy.
Sraosha, **10**, 20.
Stoicism, **14**, 18, 27; **20**, 21, 22.
Stone-worship, *cf.* Pillar worship, Aerolites.
Subjectivism, **28**, 20, 21, 22; **38**, 54, and *passim*.
Suffering, the Problem of, in the Old Testament, **17**, 27.
Sufism, **26**, **29**.
Sumerians, **6**, 2.
Sunday, in Early Church, **19**, 23.
Supernatural Religion, **6**, 30; **23**, 18; **20**, 22; **24**, 7, 11, 23, 28; **38**, *passim*. *Cf.* Revelation, Rationalism.
Sutras, **5**, 5; **34**, 30.
Suttee (Sati): in China, **2**, 8; unknown in early Hinduism, **5**, 4; *cf.* Sacrifice (Human); Dead, Cult of.
Sweden, Protestantism in, **28**, 13.
Synagogue, **31**, 1.
Syncretism: in Syria, **7**, 14; Egypt, **8**, 2; Greece, **11**, 28; *cf.* Rome, **14**, 29; Mithraism, **16**, 21; not in Christianity, **11**, 28; **38**, 39, 43.
Synoptists, **18**, 2, 4–17.
Syria, Ancient, **7**.

Table-turning, **37**, 3.
Taboo, **1**, 8; in Islam, **16**, 18; in Primitives' religion, **33**, 16.
Tacitus, **31**, 19; **18**, 12.
Talmud, **31**, 4; **18**, 5, 25.
Tammuz, **6**, 5; **7**, 23, 10. *Cf.* Adonis.
Tantrism, **5**, 18; **4**, 21; **34**, 15.
Taoism, **2**, 9; **34**, 8.
Targums, **32**, 17.
Taurobolium, **14**, 14, 15; **16**, 22.
Telepathy, **37**, 12.
Tell-el-Amarna tablets, **7**, 3.
Temples: in Syria, **7**, 21; Solomon's, *ib.*, 21, 22; not in Cretan civilization? **11**, 8; nor in Early Persian worship? **9**, 8; nor Early Roman, **13**, 20. In Early Japan, **34**, 6; Shinto, *ib.*, 11. Jewish, **17**, 17–19; in Japanese Buddhism, **34**, 15. Restoration by Augustus, **14**, 2.
Tendaï, **24**, 23.
Teraphim, **7**, 19; *cf.* Oracles.
Tertullian, **19**, 11; **16**, 23.
Testament, Religion of Old, **17**; of New, **18**.
Tetzel, **27**, 5.
Theism, **1**, 3; opposed to Deism, **32**, 26.
Theocracy, **17**, 17; **18**, 9; Papal, **24**, 7; Calvin's, **28**, 29; **30**, 4.
Theology: in Aquinas, **22**, 10; opposed to Religion in Germany, **28**, 23. *Cf.* Philosophy, Reason, Rationalism, Faith, Revelation.
Theosophical Society, **35**, 3, 6, 7.
Theosophy, **35**; in India, **9**; Ceylon, **21**; and Buddhism, **21**; and Spiritualism, **22**; and Christianity, **23**. Doctrines, *ib.*, 2–20.
Thirty-nine Articles, **27**.
Thomas Aquinas, *vide* Aquinas.
Thoth, **8**, 9.
Tiamat, **6**, 9.
Time, Infinite, **16**, 10; **10**, 22.
Toleration, in Augustine, **20**, 16. *Cf.* **28**, 12, 13.
Tonsure: Isiac, **14**, 10, 15; Buddhist, **34**, 12.
Totemism defined, **1**, 6; *cf.* (among Primitives) **33**, 16, 21. In Egypt? **8**, 11. *Cf.* **38**, 25.
Traditionalists, **1**, 13; **38**, 35.
Transmigration: in Plato, **12**, 10; in Brahminism, **4**, 5; got rid of, in Buddhism, by becoming a monk, **4**, 11; **5**, 12, and *passim*; in Theosophy, **35**, 19, 20.

Transubstantiation: in Early Church, **19**, 25; in Augustine, **20**, 20; Trent, **23**, 27; rejected by Reformers, **23**, 8; **27**, 24; **28**, 9; **30**, 6.
Tree-Worship: in Greece, **11**, 3; Syria, **7**, 17; in Bible, **7**, 18–19; Arabia, **26**, 1.
Trent, Council of, **23**. Authority of, **23**, 11. Compared with Vatican, **24**, 10, 11.
Trimurthi, **5**, 16.
Trinity, Hindu, **5**, 15–17; Babylonian, **6**, 4; Egyptian, **8**, 9; Roman? **13**, 20; Mithraic? **16**, 11; in Plato? **20**, 9. In Islam, **26**, 20. In Augustine, **20**, 27; Aquinas, **22**, 12. Theosophist, **35**, 13. *Cf.* **38**, 51.
Tripitaka, **34**, 15, 31.
Truth, a primary virtue in Persian religion, **9**, 23; **10**, 24.

Unction, Extreme, **23**, 29.
Uniates, **25**, 3; 23–32.
Unitarianism, **32**; its system and organization, 2–4; its method of Theology; 4–12, 25–28; and Arians, 13–15; and the Renaissance Humanism, 15–18; and Socinians, 18–20; and Rationalism, 21–25; and statistics, 28–31.
United Presbyterians, **30**, 16.
Universalism, in Old Test., **17**, 28–31; in New Test., the Fatherhood of God, **18**, 5; the Kingdom of Christ, *ib.*, 10–12.
Upanishads, **5**, 5; **4**, 18.

Varuna, **5**, 2; **10**, 21.
Vatican Council, **24**, 10–11; *cf.* **22**, 9, 11; **23**, 13, 31; **38**, 34.
Vedas, the, **5**, 2–7; **10**, 13.
Vedism, **4**, 1; **5**, 12; **9**, 6.
Vegetarianism, **35**, 18.
Vegetation deities (*cf.* Resurrection-feasts): Rome (*cf.* Mars, Venus), **13**, 6; Greece (*cf.* Dionysos; Demeter; Koré); **11**, 4; Tammuz, **6**, 5; **7**, 23; (*cf.* Adonis, **11**, 19, 21; Attis, **14**, 14; Osiris, **8**, 7; **14**, 10.
Vendîdâd, **10**, 4.
Venus (*cf.* Ashtart, Aphrodite), **13**, 7.
Vergil, **14**, 7, 30; **18**, 32; **20**, 3.
Vesta, **13**, 9.
Vestals, **13**, 9, 28; **14**, 3.
Veto in Papal Elections, **24**, 11.
Victor, Pope, **19**, 12–16, 27.
Virgin Birth, **19**, 28; **38**, 52, 57; not in Mithraism, **16**, 29 n.; denied in Theosophy, **35**, 25.
Virtues, deified in Ancient Rome, **13**, 21; in Imperial Rome, **14**, 5; in Persian religion, **10**, 15, 19.
Vishnu, **5**, 3, 12; and Siva, *ib.*, 11; and Christ, **35**, 24.
Vohu-Manah, **10**, 15, 19, 27; and the *Logos*, *ib.*, 12.
Vulgate, **23**, 4.

Waldenses, **23**, 3.
Walis, **26**, 30.
Wesley, **29**, 1, and *passim*.
Wesleyanism, **29**; history of, *ib.*, 1–10, 28–32; and à Kempis, **2**; and the Moravians, 6; and Calvinism, 7; specific doctrines, 11–28.
Whitefield, G., **29**, 7.
Wickliffe, J., **23**, 3; **38**, 1; **27**, 28.
Wisdom, Book of, **8**, 27; **18**, 20.
Wisdom of God, **18**, 20.
Women: their position in Christianity, **18**, 6; **38**, 62; in Islam, **26**, 18; in "Primitive" races, **33**, 16; among Hindus, **5**, 3. Excluded from Mithraism, **16**, 22.
Word of God, *see* Logos.
Works, Good, value of, according to Trent, **23**, 25; to Reformers, *ib.*, 6, 7; in Anglican Articles, **27**, 14; in Lutheranism, **28**, 19; in Calvinism, *ib.*, 29; Wesley, **29**, 13.
World-soul, **22**, 5; **20**, 10.
Worship, **1**, 2, 3, 11; in China; **2**, 2, 4; Celtic, **3**, 5, 6; Brahmin, **4**, 3; Buddhist, **4**, 23, 24; Hindu, **5**, 12, 13, 19, 21–23;

Babylonian, **6**, 16–20; Syrian, **7**, 20–24; Persian, **9**, 20; **10**, 25, 26; Greek, **11**, 4–6, 20–24, **27**; **12**, 3; Roman, **13**, 17–20; **14**, 8; Mithraic, **16**, 16–20; of "Primitives," **23**, 11–13. *Cf.*, too, Christianity, Judaism, Prayer, Sacrifice, Communion, Sacraments, etc.

Yahweh, **17**, 12–17, and *passim*; Fatherhood of, **18**, 4; His Name, **17**, 12; not found outside Hebrews? **6**, 8. In magic papyri, **14**, 13; identified with Antiochus Epiphanes (=Zeus)? **15**, 7; in Gnosticism, **35**, 29.
Yama, **5**, 3; *cf.* Yima, **10**, 23.
Yashts, **10**, 4.
Yasna, **10**, 3.
Yazatas, **10**, 18, 20.
Yoga, **34**, 25; **35**, 18.
Yorubas, **33**, 19.

Zamzam, **26**, 16.
Zealots, **18**, 16.
Zen, **34**, 25.
Zend, **9**, 4; **10**, 2.
Zeus, **11**, 16; and Fate, *ib.*, 10; in Homer, *ib.*, name of, **1**, 5.
Zionist movement, **37**, 27–28.
Zoroaster (Zarathustra), **10**, 10, and *passim*; **9**, 4, 6.
Zoroastrianism, as state religion of Persia, hostile to Christianity, **10**, 29; to-day, *ib.*, *cf.* **16**, 5.
Zouaves, Papal, **24**, 8.
Zwingli, **28**, 9; his system, *ib.*, 22.

NOTE

THIS index has been compiled with a view to helping readers to compare together the allied facts which are collected in the various lectures of this series, and in this way to form such provisional conclusions as the evidence may seem to them to admit. It would, no doubt, have been preferable, had time and space allowed of it, to compose two indexes, in one of which isolated names and facts should have been catalogued, while in the second the same and other references should have been given, grouped in various philosophical, historical, or religious categories. As this was impossible, it has been thought best to make but a single index, and to collect, under certain wider headings—Eschatology, Ethic, Worship, Monotheism, and the like—the data afforded by the different cults and creeds examined in the lectures. In this way a student will be able to pursue a practice or idea which has struck him, in its various manifestations, through widely different ages of the world's history, and in the most disparate phases of culture. He will, above all, be enabled to reflect upon the sanction, correction, and elevation given by Christianity to the fundamental characteristics of religious humanity, and to judge of those new elements introduced into the world by the Christian faith.

The editor takes this occasion of thanking Mr. Denham Robinson for his assistance in compiling the index, and indeed all those without whose generous collaboration this series of lectures could never have existed. He would also be grateful if the errors or obscurities which in the course of it he fears he may have failed to observe should be pointed out to him by the kindness of those who notice them.

C. C. M.

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